

OSTIA IN LATE ANTIQUITY



Douglas Boin

CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE

more information - www.cambridge.org/9781107024014

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

OSTIA IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Ostia Antica – Rome’s ancient harbor. Its houses and apartments, taverns and baths, warehouses, shops, and temples have long contributed to a picture of daily life in Rome. Recent investigations have revealed, however, that life in Ostia did not end with a bang but with a whimper. Only on the cusp of the Middle Ages did the town’s residents entrench themselves in a smaller settlement outside the walls. What can this new evidence tell us about life in the later Roman Empire, as society navigated an increasingly Christian world? *Ostia in Late Antiquity* – the first academic study on Ostia to appear in English in almost twenty years and the first to treat the Late Antique period – tackles the dynamics of this transformative time. Drawing on new archaeological research, including the author’s own, and incorporating both material and textual sources, it presents a social history of the town from the third through ninth centuries.

Douglas Boin is an expert on the religious history of the Roman Empire, particularly as it pertains to the “pagan,” Christian, and Jewish world of the ancient Mediterranean. Since 2010 he has taught in the Department of Classics at Georgetown University in Washington, DC. His scholarship has appeared in *Journal of Roman Studies* and *American Journal of Archaeology*, and he has authored entries on synagogues and church buildings for the multivolume reference work *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*. For ten years, he worked as an archaeologist in Rome, studying the site of the synagogue at Ostia Antica.

OSTIA IN LATE ANTIQUITY

DOUGLAS BOIN

Department of Classics
Georgetown University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City
Cambridge University Press
32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA
www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107024014

© Douglas Boin 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Boin, Douglas, author.

Ostia in late antiquity / Douglas Boin, Department of Classics, Georgetown University.
pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-02401-4 (hardback)

1. Ostia (Extinct city) – Social life and customs. 2. Ostia (Extinct city) – Social
conditions. 3. Social change – Italy – Ostia (Extinct city) 4. Christianity – Social aspects –
Italy – Ostia (Extinct city) 5. Ostia (Extinct city) – Antiquities. 6. Harbors – Rome –
History. 7. Port cities – Rome – History. 8. Architecture – Italy – Ostia (Extinct city)
I. Title.

DG70.O8B65 2013

937'.63–dc23 2012037618

ISBN 978-1-107-02401-4 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs
for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not
guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>Illustrations</i>	page vii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xv
Introduction	1
PART ONE: BACKGROUND	
1 New approaches to daily life in Late Antique Ostia	17
<i>Developments in post-processual archaeology</i>	20
<i>Memory in text and material culture</i>	21
<i>Beyond “Christianization”</i>	31
<i>Roman religion</i>	33
<i>Passing, covering, and identity management</i>	39
<i>The final frontier: Defining “religion”</i>	44
2 The new urban landscape of Rome’s ancient harbor	47
<i>Ostia’s “front door” continued</i>	51
<i>The city center</i>	65
<i>The dead ends of “Christian Ostia”</i>	75
PART TWO: FOREGROUND	
3 The third century: Roman religions and the long reach of the emperor	83
<i>The third-century narrative</i>	83
<i>Ostia and the third-century narrative</i>	86
<i>The centrality of the emperor: Excavating Roman imperial cult</i>	89
<i>Domestic and workplace shrines</i>	98
<i>Beneath the surface: Christianity in the third century</i>	114
<i>Ostia’s Jewish community in the third century</i>	119
<i>Jewish-Christian relations in the third century</i>	122

4	The fourth century: Proud temples and resilient traditions	124
	<i>Narratives of the fourth century</i>	124
	<i>Ostia from the third century to the fourth</i>	136
	<i>Ostia's Capitolium in the fourth century</i>	140
	<i>Ostia's Forum</i>	145
	<i>Jews and Christians in the fourth century</i>	155
5	The fifth century: History seen from the spaces in between	165
	<i>Christians and Jews in fifth-century Ostia: The view from the street</i>	167
	<i>The Cult of Saint Lawrence in fifth-century Ostia</i>	170
	<i>Ostia's traditional religions in the fifth century: The view from the street</i>	180
6	The sixth and seventh centuries: A city in motion, shifting traditions	201
	<i>The continued visibility of traditional cults</i>	204
	<i>Archaeology, religion, and Roman time</i>	212
	<i>Building identities around the clock</i>	216
	<i>The power of martyr stories at Ostia</i>	219
	<i>The power of Aurea at Ostia</i>	222
	<i>Landscape, memories, and power</i>	228
	<i>Postscript</i>	237
	<i>References</i>	243
	<i>Index</i>	283

Illustrations

Map

Key points of Ostian topography.	<i>page</i> xviii
----------------------------------	-------------------

Figure

1	<i>The Soothsayer's Recompense</i> by Giorgio de Chirico (1913).	3
2	Didactic material at the site of the so-called Area Sacra Repubblicana and the so-called Temple of Hercules (1.15.5).	7
3	House of Cupid and Psyche (1.14.5), marble revetment and <i>opus sectile</i> floor with a copy of the eponymous statuary group.	9
4	Plan of the early castrum wall with shops at 1.1.14.	19
5	Detail of Ostia and Rome on the <i>Tabula Peutingeriana</i> .	23
6	Plan of the republican town walls, mid first century BCE.	27
7	The castrum wall at the shops at 1.1.1–4.	29
8	Set of rings from Ostia. Two with the Christogram in the lower row, center.	41
9	Plan of the southern seashore.	49
10	The piers of the Porta Marina Baths (4.10.1–2), <i>frigidarium</i> . View facing west, toward the seashore. Present state.	51
11	Plan of the inner harbor at the mouth of the Tiber River.	53
12	Plan of Ostia showing the distribution of baths constructed during Late Antiquity.	59
13	<i>Opus sectile</i> wall from the Late Antique building outside the Porta Marina.	61
14	Plan of the houses at insula 5.2 and their environs.	69
15	Plan of the Forum and Decumanus.	75

16	Plan of the building at 3.1.4 and its environs on the western Decumanus.	77
17	The area of the so-called Round Temple.	91
18	View of the spiral staircase at the so-called Round Temple.	93
19	Colossal portrait head of Gordian III, 238 CE. From Ostia. Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo delle Terme), Rome, Italy.	95
20	Plan showing the distribution of Late Antique domestic and workplace shrines.	101
21	The <i>sacellum</i> at the Horrea of Hortensius (5.12.1).	103
22	Amulet from Ostia, third-century context.	105
23	Plan showing the distribution of Ostia's Mithraea.	110
24	The seven grades of initiation depicted on the mosaic floor at the Mithraeum of Felicissimus (5.9.1).	111
25	Plan of the synagogue, final phase.	121
26	Reconstruction of the Constantine colossus, Rome.	127
27	Hercules from Ostia. Currently in the Sala degli Animali, Vatican Museums. DAI-Rome 1104.	135
28	Hercules from Ostia. Currently in the Sala degli Animali, Vatican Museums. DAI-Rome 1107.	136
29	Hercules from Ostia. Currently in the Sala degli Animali, Vatican Museums. DAI-Rome 769.	137
30	Hercules from Ostia. Currently in the Sala degli Animali, Vatican Museums. DAI-Rome 1121.	138
31	Gold aureus of Maxentius, Ostian mint, 308–312 CE. Obverse: "Maxentivs P F Aug." Reverse: "Temporvm Felicitas Aug N."	139
32	The fourth-century CE Forum at Ostia.	141
33	Capitolium, c. 1914, Archivio Fotografico, Ostia Antica A2427.	143
34	Statue identified as Ragonius Vincentius Celsus. DAI-Rome 67.1067. Ostian Museum.	149
35	Equestrian base in foreground, the Temple of Roma and Augustus in background, with fragments of the temple pediment restored at rear left. Present state.	150
36	View of the Temple of Roma and Augustus (foreground), the equestrian base of Maxentius, and the Capitolium, present state. Clockwise, view toward the north.	151
37	The Torah shrine, Ostian synagogue (4.17.1–2). View toward the northeast. Present state.	156
38	Detail of the lulav, ethrog, menorah, and shofar on the corbel of the Torah shrine.	157
39	The southern gates of the city.	159

40	Plan of the area known as Gregoriopolis, outside the walls of Ostia Antica, with the remains of an apsidal building underneath Sant'Aurea.	162
41	Plan of Sant'Ercolano.	163
42	Main arteries of the intramural and extramural road network.	168
43	Plan of the basilica at Pianabella.	169
44	Plaster cast of glassware from the Domus del Protiro (5.2.4–5), Archivio Fotografico, Ostia Antica E30017.	171
45	Lunette with Saint Lawrence carrying the cross of martyrdom. To the left a book cabinet containing the four canonical Gospels. Mosaic. Early Christian, c. 425 CE. Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, Italy.	173
46	Plan of the Via della Foce and its environs.	181
47	The altar of the twelve Olympian gods, Mus. Ost. inv. 120. From the sanctuary of Magna Mater. DAI-Rome 83.391.	185
48	Dionysius, dedicated by Volusianus, from the sanctuary of Magna Mater.	187
49	The reclining Attis, dedicated by Gaius Cartilius Euplus. From the sanctuary of Magna Mater. Museo Gregoriano Profano. Inv. no. 10785.	189
50	Attis-Dionysus statue dedicated by Gaius Cartilius Euplus. From the sanctuary of Magna Mater.	193
51	Plan of Ostia showing the distribution of sanctuaries, temples, churches, and synagogue.	205
52	The <i>navigium Isidis</i> , Severan wall painting removed from Ostia, displayed in the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandine, Vatican Museums. Arch. Fot. Vat. 3.4.8, Musei Vaticani.	209
53	Ostian ivory diptych, Mus. Ost. inv. 4362.	215
54	Monica's epitaph, modern cast, Archivio Fotografico, Ostia Neg. R 2264.	229
55	The Late Antique macellum showing the restored location of the inscribed column. Present state.	235
56	Temple Mount–Noble Sanctuary (Haram al-Sharif), Jerusalem. View toward the east.	239
57	Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio) (1483–1520). Battle of Ostia, depicting Gregoriopolis at rear left. Fresco. Stanze di Raffaello (Stanza dell'Incendio), Borgia Apartments. Vatican Palace, Vatican State.	241

Acknowledgments

The impetus to write this book first came up, with the dirt and weeds, when I began working at Ostia in 2002. I owe my thanks to L. Michael White and the Institute for the Study of Antiquity and Christian Origins (ISAC) within the Department of Classics at the University of Texas at Austin for that experience. It grew into a dissertation and has led to a decade of research on-site. Mike's efforts as an advisor and his passionate generosity gave this project the space to mature that it needed. He also helped steer it to its completion, and for that I thank him warmly. I also owe my sincere thanks to Jennifer Ebbeler, Glenn Peers, and Dennis Trout for their help in shaping this manuscript and a particular debt to Karl Galinsky, who also provided support for a postdoctoral year in Austin, funded by the Max Planck Institute. I would like to thank Jennifer Gates-Foster, Rabun Taylor, and Adam Rabinowitz for our conversations in Austin that year. Lastly, in the summer of 2010, I was given the opportunity to lead a site visit to Ostia for scholars investigating Late Antique transformation and change. That day proved immeasurable in helping me clarify many of the ideas presented in this book, and I thank Michele Salzman and Kim Bowes for the invitation to do so, as well as the participants in their National Endowment for the Humanities summer seminar for the questions they asked and the directions they suggested I take.

For many years now, I have delighted in the opportunity to walk, see, learn, touch, and experience the city of Ostia in a remarkable way. None of that would have been possible without the support of the Italian government: first, through the office of the Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici di Ostia; and then through the Soprintendenza speciale per i beni archaeologici di Roma. My deepest gratitude goes to Paola Germoni, Angelo Pellegrino, and Giuseppe Proietti for opening

the town and its archives to me. Today, I still feel like a junior partner in the enterprise of looking after Ostia's heritage. It is with pleasure and humility, however, that I have been fortunate to converse with a community of scholars who have challenged me and helped me think about Ostia, Portus, and Rome in new ways: to Joanne Spurza, John Clarke, Genevieve Gessert, Grégoire Poccardi, Jan Theo Bakker, Nyla Muntasser, Carlo Pavolini, Janet DeLaine, Bouke van der Meer, Silvia Pannuzi, Evelyn Buckowiecki, Fausto Zevi and Anna Gallina Zevi, Lidia Paroli, and Simon Keay. Whether in print or in person, all of these scholars have been great conversation partners, and this book would not have been possible without them. If there are any who have been left out, it is only by negligence on my part. I owe a particular debt to the many friends and colleagues who have worked with me in Rome and abroad: Daniela Williams, Letizia Ceccarelli, Brent Nongbri, Susan Gelb, Kristine Iara, and Alexandra Eppinger, who read an early draft of this manuscript. Thanks also to Drew Cunningham, who helped me with procuring some of the images.

Countless library and archival staffs offered their assistance in the preparation of this book: Sheila Winchester at the University of Texas at Austin, the library and photographic archive staff at the American Academy in Rome, the British School in Rome, the library and photographic archive staff at the German Archaeological Institute in Rome (in particular, Daria Lanzuolo), as well as the staff of the National Gallery of Art, Dumbarton Oaks, and Georgetown University. Elvira Angeloni, Stefano Stani, and Grazia Pettinelli also provided generous assistance procuring research materials at Ostia Antica. I am grateful also to Francesca Zannoni at the Fondo Lanciani, housed in the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in Rome, and to Anna Lia Bonella for her help at the Archivio di Stato di Roma. To these names I would like to add my thanks to Beatrice Rehl at Cambridge University Press, who has shepherded this project from the start, to Amanda Smith and Asya Graf for their helpful editorial eyes, and to the anonymous reviewers for being models of constructive critique.

I should add a short bibliographic disclaimer at this point. Archaeological research is always being updated, and our picture of Ostia will no doubt change in the years to come. Just as I was completing this manuscript, for example, I was fortunate to receive a report of new Late Antique excavations conducted in one area of the city center between 2008 and 2010. I believe that work largely supports the interpretation of

the evidence that I describe here, but perhaps some day it, too, will reach its expiration date. In the meantime my hope is that this book provides a lasting interpretative framework for asking new questions about life in Late Antique Ostia and that it stimulates new debates about how we approach the topic.

Let me conclude by mentioning two other people who watched me as I wrote this book. It is a delight to set their names among the others at last: thanks to my mom, Joyce Ryan Boin, and to my partner Gardiner Rhoderick. I smile now when I think that, for each of them, Ostia's ruins also feel like a second home.

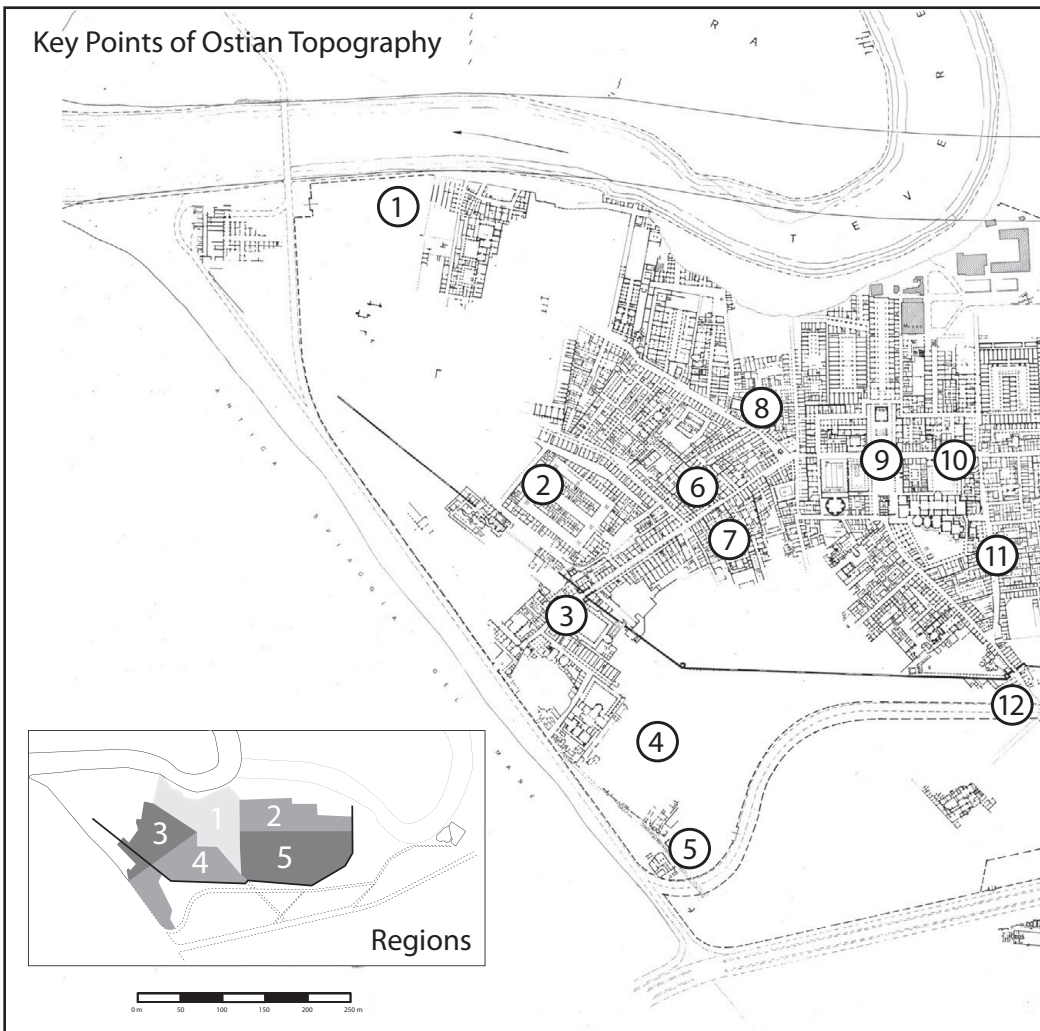
Abbreviations

Latin and Greek authors are abbreviated according to *The Oxford Classical Dictionary, Third Edition*, edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). Journal abbreviations follow the *American Journal of Archaeology*. The following also appear in the text.

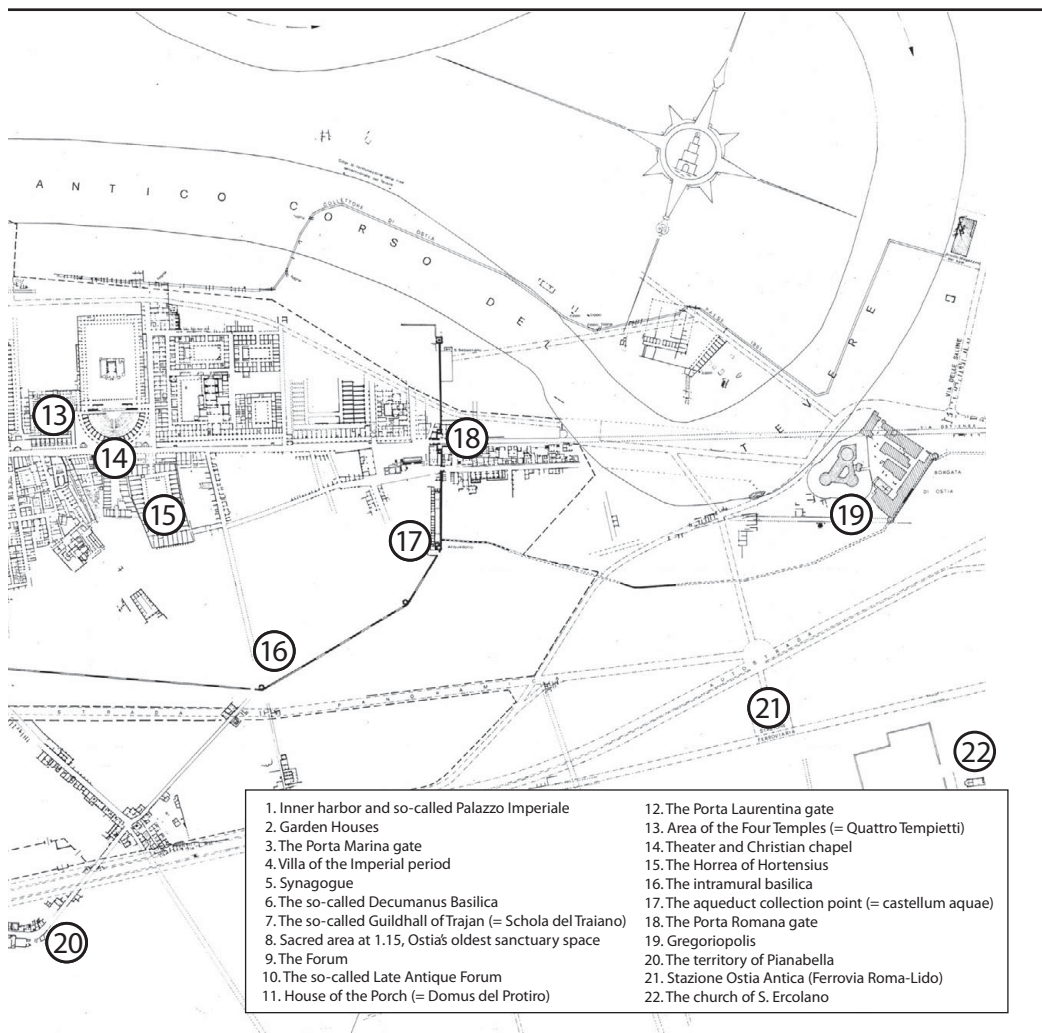
AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> . Edited by J. Bolland et al. Antwerp and Brussels. 1643–1940.
AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> . Paris. 1888–.
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> . Edited by H. Temporini et al. Berlin. 1972–.
BMCRR	<i>Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum</i> . Edited by H. A. Grüber. London. 1910.
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> . London. 1982–.
CBCR	<i>Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae (The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome, IV–IX Centuries)</i> . Edited by R. Krautheimer. Vatican City. 1937–.
CCCA	<i>Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque</i> . Edited by M. J. Vermaseren. Leiden. 1977–.
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> . Turholt. 1953–.
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Berlin. 1828–.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin. 1863–.
CIMRM	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentum Religionis Mitraicae</i> . Edited by M. J. Vermaseren. The Hague. 1960.
CTh	<i>The Theodosian Code and Novels and Sirmondian Constitutions</i> . Edited and translated by C. Pharr. Princeton. 1952.

GMP	<i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation: Including the Demotic Spells.</i> Edited by H. D. Betz. Chicago. 1986.
Helbig ⁴	<i>Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom.</i> Fourth Edition. Edited by W. Helbig and H. Speier. Tübingen. 1963–72.
ICUR	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores.</i> Edited by G. B. De Rossi. Rome 1857–1915. Second Edition. Edited by A. Silvagni et al. Rome. 1922–.
IGRR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes.</i> 1964–.
IGUR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae.</i> Edited by L. Moretti. Rome. 1968–.
ILCV	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres.</i> Edited by E. Diehl. Berlin. 1925–31.
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.</i> Edited by H. Dessau. Berlin. 1892–1916.
Inscr. Cret.	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae.</i> Edited by M. Guarducci. Rome. 1935–.
Inscr. Ital.	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae.</i> Rome. 1931/1932–.
LCL	Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.</i> Edited by J. Boardman et al. Zurich. 1981–.
LP	<i>Liber Pontificalis.</i> Edited by L'Abbé Duchesne and C. Vogel. Second Edition. Paris. 1867–1957.
LTUR	<i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae.</i> Edited by E. M. Steinby. Rome. 1993–.
LTURS	<i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae: Suburbium.</i> Edited by A. La Regina. Rome. 2001–.
Mus. Ost.	<i>Museo ostiense.</i> Edited by R. Calza-de Chirico and M. F. Squarciapino. Rome. 1962.
NSc	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità.</i> Rome. 1876–.
NTDAR	<i>A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome.</i> By L. Richardson. Baltimore. 1992.
OGIS	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.</i> Edited by W. Dittenberger. Two volumes. Leipzig. 1903–05.
PCBE	<i>Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-empire.</i> Three volumes. Paris. 1982–2008.
PIR	<i>Prosopographia imperii romani.</i> Six volumes. Berlin. 1933–.

PLRE	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> . Edited by A. H. M. Jones et al. Cambridge. 1971–.
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> . Edited by T. Klauser et al. Stuttgart. 1950–.
RE	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart. 1893–.
SdO	<i>Scavi di Ostia</i> . Rome. 1954–.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . Amsterdam. 1923–.



Map 1. Key points of Ostian topography. Author's plan, modified from Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689.



Introduction

Ostia Antica – it has been called Rome’s version of Pompeii, the capital city captured in miniature, a laboratory for the study of daily life in Rome. Grand travelers once walked its streets, traipsing across the landscape of nineteenth-century Europe in search of marbles and memories to take back home. Later, members of Italy’s Fascist government ventured to its ruins to inaugurate the construction of a new train line, one that would reunite Rome with the symbolic strength of the Mediterranean Sea. Even today, chances are that tourists also may have heard something about the idyllic town, located roughly sixteen miles down the Tiber River from Rome. Now an archaeological park named Ostia Antica, “Old Ostia,” to distinguish it from the beach town of the same name nearby, Rome’s ancient harbor has certainly hosted its fair share of visitors over time, from its long-vanished ancient residents to the modern workers who now staff its gates. Almost 2,300 years after the city’s foundation, it seems that we have never quite been able to erase Roman Ostia from our minds.

Today, Ostia’s ancient apartment complexes, taverns, baths, and temples – all situated proudly among the Italian pines – still offer us that tantalizing evocation of daily life as it once was lived during the prosperous years of the second-century CE Roman Empire. Indeed, like the ruins of Pompeii, Ostia affords scholars of ancient Rome the welcome opportunity to view history “seen from below,” through the eyes of all the workers, nonelite residents, traders, and travelers who once populated its streets.¹

¹ The Web site [ostia-antica.org](http://www.ostia-antica.org), created and updated by Jan Theo Bakker, Ph.D., provides an introduction with bibliography to many of these themes; see Bakker 2010, <http://www.ostia-antica.org>. Readers interested in learning more about any of the buildings or sites discussed in this book will easily be able view additional photographs and plans

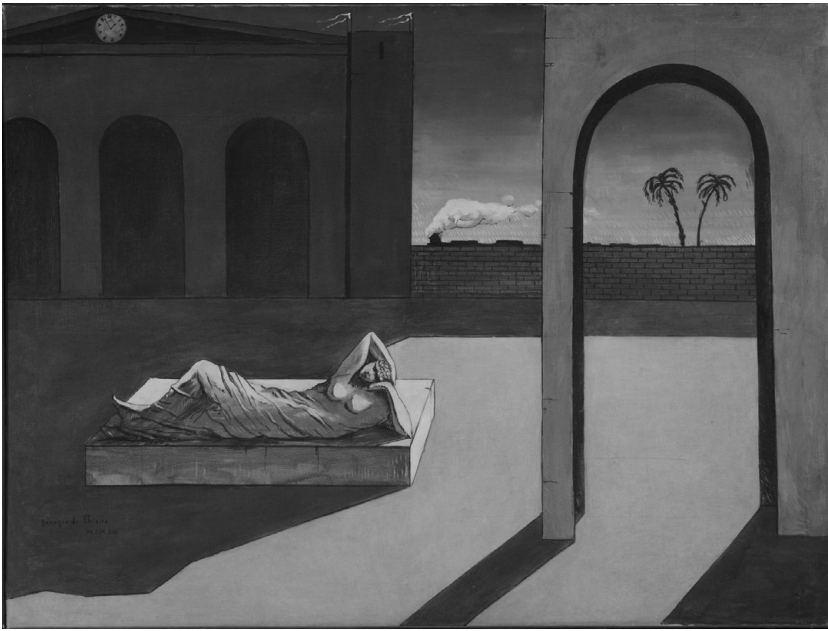
As recent archaeological investigations have revealed, however, life at Ostia ended not with a Vesuvian bang but with a whimper. Substantial signs of life remained throughout the town and its environments through the ninth century. Only on the cusp of the Middle Ages did Ostia's remaining residents entrench themselves in a new, smaller settlement outside the ancient city walls, called Gregoriopolis by Pope Gregory IV (see Map 1, no. 19). Yet the "Pompeian fallacy" continues to persist, assuming that the majesty of Ostia's apartments and houses, the towering stature of its temples and taverns – in short, all the marks of a diverse social life at Rome's old harbor and all the evidence for the study of daily life in the Roman world – somehow vanished in an instant, along with its people, buried by a cataclysmic event.

Scholarly autopsy has long had its eyes trained on one or two blockbuster causes. Some have laid the blame with the so-called crisis of the third century. Others have assumed it was the dissolution of the empire that portended the town's fall, along with Rome's, sometime during the invasions of the fifth century.² Whatever the culprit, it is clear today that the sudden disappearance of life at Ostia owes more to our own modern assumptions about what the Roman and Late Antique city should have looked like at the end of the empire than it does to the archaeological evidence. A study of this milieu during the mid-third through eighth centuries, the period known today as Late Antiquity, is long overdue. Our understanding of Rome during the same dynamic period demands that we take a fresh look at this rich microcosm of Late Antique social life.

This period in Ostia's history is filled with intriguing historical questions, perhaps best evoked by the depiction of an enigmatic townscape, *The Soothsayer's Recompense* (Figure 1). Painted in 1913 by the Greco-Italian artist Giorgio de Chirico, it shares its subject with a series of similar paintings called *Piazze d'Italia*. We do not know for sure whether de Chirico ever visited Rome's old harbor town. What is certain is that his wife, a woman by the name of Raissa Gourevich, later became the

of them online. The discussion of all the evidence pertaining to this book, however, is based on my own research and may differ, either slightly or significantly, from information available online, depending on updates to the Web site and on my own interpretation of the evidence.

² For the third century, see Meiggs 1973, 83–85. For a crisis after 420, see Pavolini 1986b, 268–70.



1. *The Soothsayer's Recompense* by Giorgio de Chirico (1913). From The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection. © Artist Rights Society, New York. Oil on canvas, 135.6 cm × 180 cm. The Philadelphia Museum of Art/Art Resource, New York.

foremost expert on Ostian statuary during her lifetime. Today, most scholars know her by the surname of her second husband, the Ostian excavator Guido Calza; and it was under the name Raissa Calza–de Chirico that she published some of her first work on Ostian archaeology. Only later did she sign her publications “Raissa Calza,” ultimately dedicating a book “to the dear memory” of her second husband, to whom Ostia, she wrote, owed “its second life.”³ One wonders whether she was praising Calza for having given her something similar. The point is not a tangential one. After all, the relationships between people and their pasts are complex and constantly intertwined, shaping different aspects of their identities in various times of their lives and in differing social settings. Perhaps for that reason, it seems emblematic to begin this book with them. The residents and sojourners of Late Antique Ostia faced many of the same issues of memory and identity. De Chirico’s painting offers an evocative point of departure for exploring the world in which they lived and the assumptions we have about the Late Antique past.

³ “Alla cara memoria di Guido Calza a cui Ostia deve la sua seconda vita,” Calza and Nash 1959, dedication page.

To a student of the High Roman Empire who is aware of the prosperity of the second century CE, de Chirico's empty town square, shrouded in shadows cast from an unseen light source, suggests the sheer barrenness of urban life in Late Antiquity. Fragments of classicism, like the marble statue at the center of the Italianate piazza, are scattered throughout the landscape, like relics of a previous era. The city seems remarkably frozen, static. Only a small plume of smoke billows from a steam engine locomotive, entering the picture from the right. It is headed toward a building, at left, whose clock seems to suggest the rhythms of a time that are still vaguely familiar, even in an unfamiliar setting. There is much here to evoke the imagination. To me, for example, the train is a powerful image, symbolizing, in a way, the arrival of Christianity in towns throughout the ancient Mediterranean. How loud was the blast from this engine? How pervasively did it echo within the town walls? These questions beget still more.

When did the city center of Ostia, lorded over for centuries by the town's majestic temples, perennially funded with imperial largess, fall into the state of disrepair we see today? Did it really happen in the fourth-century town with the so-called triumph of Christianity, as so many texts have implied? The absence of people even leads to some unsettling and often underappreciated areas of investigation. How did the ancient Jewish community negotiate this same period of transformation, when bishops gained stature with the civic authorities and Jews themselves were increasingly marginalized by imperial legislation?⁴ What can we hypothesize about the social identities and cultural interactions of the town's inhabitants as they lived through this period of change – with one eye, as it were, on the classical past and the other on a society in transition? More important still, how do we keep our own eye on recovering the dynamism that drove this same period of transformation and change without falling prey to historical descriptions that presume or perpetuate the inevitability of “Christian triumph”? Christianity's “victory,” after all, was far from an inevitable fact, but scholars have never before used Ostia, the mirror of Rome, to interrogate the process by which that happened. This book does just that.

Here, some context is important. For most of the modern period, scholars working at Ostia have been keen on arranging, or cataloging,

⁴ *CTH* 16.9.1. (336 CE), 16.8.7 (357 CE), and 3.7.2 (388 CE).

the evidence, beginning with its foundation in the mid-Republic and continuing through the prosperous years of the High Empire. Consequently, most, if not all, examples of new construction in the third-, fourth-, fifth-, or even sixth-century town have been separated from any understanding of the durability of Ostia's built environment. These have had to bear the weight of speaking disproportionately for the town's entire Late Antique urban image. Not surprisingly, this limited, chronological approach has in some ways compromised our understanding of life in the Late Antique town, perpetuating a picture of Ostia frozen in time at the high point of the second century CE with little appreciation for how the past and present interacted in the Late Antique social environment. This static picture of daily life in Late Antique Ostia still predominates among scholars and public alike.⁵ Didactic material at the sanctuary called the "Area Sacra Repubblicana" (Map 1, no. 8) frames the space solely in terms of its republican-era importance (Figure 2). Four buildings are labeled, all with republican foundations. A fifth-century CE building, however, erected within the walls of the sanctuary, is the only structure not labeled on the sign. The vanishing of a Late Antique building from the tourist sign, in favor of a careful construction of the republican past, speaks to the same impetus that drove the early twentieth-century excavations of Ostia.

As Guido Calza reported in 1938, during the years preceding the Esposizione Universale di Roma, "il Duce" himself, Benito Mussolini, had bestowed high praise on Ostia's excavators while they prepared the site aesthetically for its presentation to the public.⁶ The town they chose to portray was "Rome's first colony on the Mediterranean and the commercial center of her whole Empire."⁷ The image of modern Rome's grandeur, as refracted through the lens of its first ancient colony, merged nicely with Mussolini's plan to resurrect and glorify the past during the 1942 exposition. The Late Antique building activity at the sanctuary (1.15.7) was thus downplayed, if not erased outright, because it did not fit the carefully arranged and ideologically driven packaging of the

⁵ See, for example, the summary by Lançon 2000, 12–13.

⁶ "Il programma di scavo che ha avuto l'alta approvazione del Duce e del Ministro Bottai è stato da me formulato tenendo presenti sia gli scopi scientifici e culturali che si attendono da una più vasta conoscenza della città, sia le finalità di carattere estetico e turistico che con la visione quasi totale di Ostia si possono raggiungere nel quadro della Esposizione Universale di Roma," Calza 1938, 605.

⁷ "Ostia, colonia primogenita di Roma antica sul mediterraneo e suo emporio commerciale per tutto l'Impero," Calza 1938, 605.

site. The impact of these excavations cannot be overlooked because they fed a vicious cycle whereby Late Antique archaeological material went unrecorded, and the lack thereof was interpreted as evidence of Ostia's decline.

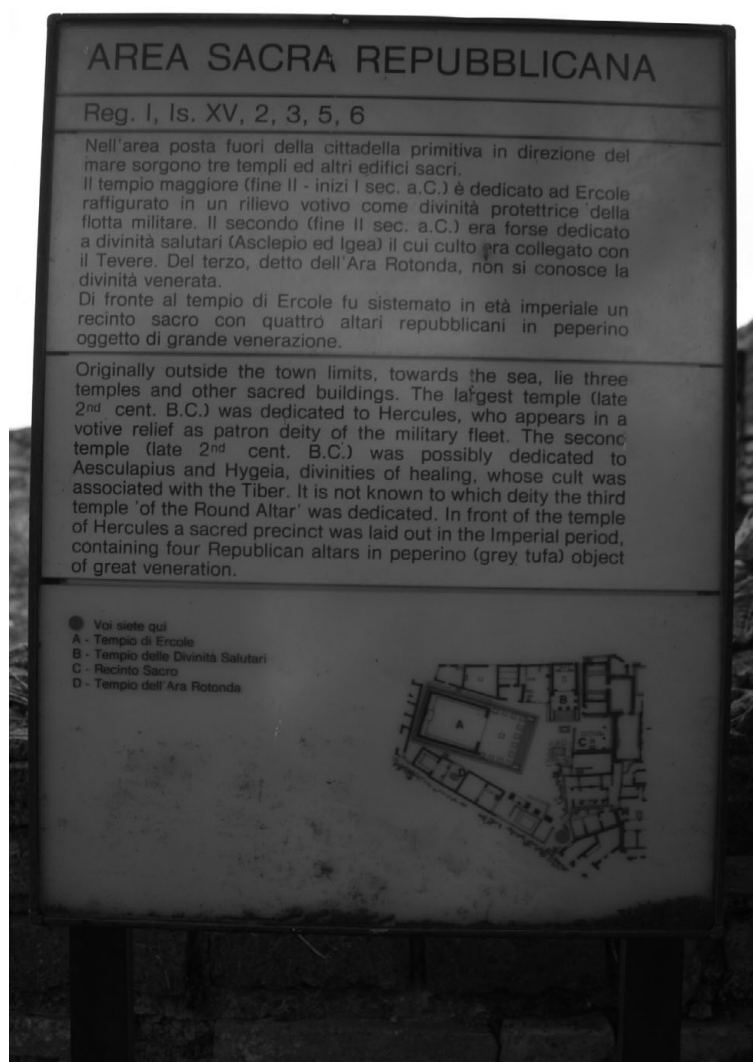
Correcting these imbalances and publicizing the kinds of Late Antique material that early investigators saw when they first began to excavate Ostia in the modern period is one of the tasks of this book. That task begins not in Late Antiquity but at the time of these earlier excavations. For it is the reports of those earlier campaigns – some impressionistic, others more substantial – that, I propose, give us a picture of life in Late Antique Ostia before the town was cleaned up and put on display as a poster child for second-century imperial Rome. A brief overview of how that history came to be established as the dominant one is thus vital at the outset of our project.

The first systematic excavation of Ostia Antica occurred in the first decade of the nineteenth century, directed on behalf of Pius VII by Giuseppe Petrini.⁸ As archival drawings from the period make clear, his research uncovered little more than the center of the town, the Capitolium, the Forum, and surrounding structures (Map 1, roughly no. 9). Continued papal excavations in the mid-nineteenth century, such as those conducted by the Visconti family for Pius IX, broadened our knowledge of Ostia's expansive reach into the surrounding territory. These excavations revealed the location and contours of such Ostian sites as the Campus of Magna Mater and the so-called Palazzo Imperiale (Map 1, no. 1 and no. 12).⁹ In 1870, however, the birth of the nation of Italy intervened, and the pace of work slowed. Only in the first decades of the twentieth century, under the leadership of Dante Vaglieri and others, did the streets and structures that formed the fabric of the urban setting begin to emerge, thereby stitching together a map of "Roman Ostia," as it became known in the scholarly literature.

Excavations expanded dramatically under Guido Calza as both new and old data were incorporated into a plan of the city, leading to a whirlwind of work in the 1930s. It was at that point that Mussolini, eager to retrieve elements of Rome's past for his own political gains, invested

⁸ "[U]n giovane erudito nell'antiquaria, e in altri studi, e pratico sopra tutto dell'arte di scavare," Fea 1802, 6.

⁹ See Spurza 1999a and 1999b; see also Marini Recchia, Pacchiani, and Panico 2002.



2. Didactic material at the site of the so-called Area Sacra Republicanana and the so-called Temple of Hercules (1.15.5). Only republican-period buildings are labeled and discussed. Author's photograph, 2007.

the excavations at Ostia with an urgency never before seen.¹⁰ A catalog of inscriptions from Isola Sacra and Portus, supplementing the Ostian corpus already compiled, increased the volume of material available for constructing an urban image of daily life at the Roman harbor.¹¹ This frenzy of labor culminated in the decade after the Second World War

¹⁰ Calza 1938.

¹¹ Thylander 1952.

with the publication of the first volume of the *Scavi di Ostia* series, replete with a diachronic analysis of the town and, among other data, a catalog of buildings and their remodeling, classified by Roman epoch.¹² A monumental presentation of decades of earlier work, the publication immediately inspired further work on all aspects of the Roman town. Three of these developments are important to a study of Late Antique Ostia. Reviewing them will provide an opportunity to anticipate some of the contributions of this book.

First, by analyzing and then arranging the architecture and the corresponding building repairs in chronological order, the editors of the *Scavi di Ostia* codified an approach to Ostian archaeology that has dominated to this day. This method has helped scholars sort through and make sense of the rich archaeological data and, in so doing, brought to the fore one of the first noticeable features of the Late Antique town. For not only were some important social, civic structures like town baths repaired in the Late Antique period; at some point in the third century CE, the evidence seemed to show, domestic trends in the working-class harbor town changed, introducing an entirely new cityscape of luxury houses. The residence known as the House of Cupid and Psyche ([Figure 3](#); located near Map 1, no. 8) is one such example. Named after the eponymous statuary group found in one of its marble-clad rooms, the house was replete with a garden (*viridarium*) and elaborate *opus sectile* floors. The presence of wealthy residences like this one, identified throughout town, was one of the first signs that hinted at what daily life was like in later Ostia: It was much like a seaside resort.¹³ I will suggest, by contrast, that Late Antique Ostia had a much more heterogeneous urban composition than has been previously assumed ([Chapter 2](#)).

The second benefit of the *Scavi di Ostia* publication was a catalog of Christian symbols and possibly Christian buildings scattered throughout the town, providing a lens through which to study the town's religious transformation. An analysis of Christian sites, interwoven with a discussion of Christian textual sources like martyr stories, for example, now offered evidence with which to discuss when and where Ostia became "Christian."¹⁴ That topic, too, will be treated here in depth but on much

¹² See *SDO 1* (Calza et al. 1954).

¹³ In particular, see Becatti 1969 and Pavolini 1985, with further discussion in [Chapter 3](#).

¹⁴ Février 1958.



3. House of Cupid and Psyche (1.14.5), marble revetment and *opus sectile* floor with a copy of the eponymous statuary group. Author's photograph, 2007.

different terms: The fact that Ostia became Christian at all is not something I have taken for granted as an inevitable feature of the town's history ([Chapter 1](#)). The result is a dynamic social world (Chapters 3–6) in which text and material culture interact, shaping the religious identity

of individuals and groups, playing an important role in the articulation of power. As I demonstrate here, it was largely through efforts at cultural accommodation and social assimilation, not through radical rejection of the Roman past, that Ostia itself became a Christian town: the outcome of a complex process that I locate in the sixth century, not the fourth, as traditionally assumed to have happened following the legislative “triumphs of the Church.”

Third and most relevant, the *Scavi di Ostia* series required a grand synthesis for an English-speaking audience. Russell Meiggs obliged, magisterially, publishing the first edition of *Roman Ostia* in 1960. A comprehensive presentation of Ostia’s local government, its preeminent families, and its importance for the study of daily life in the Late Republican Age and the Early and High Roman Empire, Meiggs’s *Roman Ostia* has guided a generation of scholars through the landscape of the harbor town.¹⁵ Even today, that work continues to lie in its breadth. It covers everything from the institutional history of the town to its economy to aspects of its social life. And yet, whereas as late as 1973 Meiggs declared, “[I]t is still too early to attempt more than a broad outline [of Roman Ostia] from the fourth to the ninth centuries,” today new evidence has made such a study possible at last.¹⁶ In fact, the urban image of Ostia has drastically changed, and those developments, too, now need introduction to a new generation of researchers (Chapter 2).

Drawing on previously known textual sources, incorporating revised archaeological material, and synthesizing new archaeological discoveries for an audience interested in the history of Rome’s “Pompeii,” this book marks one of the first steps in that process of putting Late Antique Ostia together again. Its subject is daily life, religious transformation, and urban change at the old Roman harbor town between the third and eighth centuries.

The scope of this book

There is a famous passage in Lewis Carroll’s *Through the Looking-Glass* in which the protagonist Alice exclaims, “I declare it’s marked out just like a large chessboard! . . . It’s a great huge game of chess that’s being

¹⁵ Meiggs 1973; see also Pavolini 1986a.

¹⁶ Meiggs 1973, 583.

played – all over the world – if this is the world at all, you know.”¹⁷ Life in Late Antique Ostia has sometimes been characterized in these terms: sharply and starkly divided, a field on which two and only two monolithic forces waged battle, “pagans and Christians.” In the chapters that follow, I have taken a different approach. In short, Ostia was never laid out like a life-size chessboard. It was a vibrant social world – of Christians, Jews, and followers of Rome’s traditional religions – one that, moreover, *remained* vibrant even as its population dwindled. In it, a whole host of multifaceted social and cultural identities intersected, overlapped, and sometimes challenged one another for status. Nothing in this landscape was ever predetermined. No development was ever foreordained.

This book is divided into two parts: “Background” and “Foreground.” Part One has two chapters, which provide an essential context for my study. [Chapter 1](#) introduces a wide array of new methods and approaches to studying daily life in Late Antique Ostia. These approaches include anthropological developments in archaeological theory, recent work in the field of social memory, and recent research on the topic of Roman religion, all of which have shaped my approach to Late Antique social history. In the first chapter, I have also added my critique of the concept “Christianization” and, last but not least, advocated for a greater appreciation for the role of identity management in discussions of early Christian texts and material culture. [Chapter 2](#) applies these methods to the evidence. Setting forth an urban image of the town as it is presently known, including a discussion of Late Antique apartments, guilds, the economy, the city center, and the seashore, this chapter synthesizes discoveries from several recent excavations and incorporates them into a succinct topographic overview, specifically designed for those who may be unfamiliar with the site.

Part Two brings Late Antique Ostia to the foreground of the book, and it does so with a targeted focus. In a series of four chapters, each structured around a century, it examines elements of the religious landscape, drawn from both textual and material sources, in order to construct a social-historical picture of life in the Late Antique city. This religious landscape is a rich source of study. It consists of the monumental forms traditionally associated with the period, such as temples, church, and synagogue, but it also includes a corpus of smaller artifacts with sacred

¹⁷ Carroll [2001](#), 172.

imagery, such as lamps, glassware, ivory, and amulets. Some of these artifacts have not been seen in a century or more since their discovery, and I discuss them here. This material also includes inscriptions and statuary dedications from the town's sacred spaces, and it encompasses the spaces, paths, and roads in the urban and suburban neighborhoods where rituals were frequently enacted. Texts, especially those that relate the stories of prominent local martyrs, also form part of this landscape. Their narratives often contain valuable hints about the social and cultural characteristics of the Christian communities living at Rome's old harbor town.

This book synthesizes that evidence and reconstructs it within a social and historical framework. Thus, each chapter in Part Two, although presented in chronological order, first aims to establish a ground line, or a control group, for a study of how life in Ostia either changed or stayed the same when viewed from a standpoint decades or centuries later. The aim throughout is not to argue against historical reality – Ostia did fall into ruin over time – but to investigate more carefully how the process of social transformation took place over the *longue durée*. Evidence from [Chapter 3](#), for example, reveals that the third century was not a period of urban or religious crisis. Archaeologically, many traditional Roman religious sites continued to flourish during this time, just as they had during the past. This evidence speaks to the vibrancy and flexibility of the Roman religious system. Above all, it cautions against those who would attribute the rise of Christianity to widespread structural, social, or religious deficiencies during this time.

I expand on that framework in [Chapter 4](#) by showing that the legalization of Christianity in the fourth century did not lead to a sudden, visible transformation of the town. Elements of the old city, including traditional sites such as the Forum, Capitolium, and even the town's oldest sanctuary space, remained centers of architectural investment and urban renewal during the period of Christianity's ascendancy. Ostia's Jewish community also established a more visible presence for itself in the town during this time. All of this architectural evidence helps put the construction of Christian churches into a new light. These sites now emerge as active participants in promoting the process of social change, not merely illustrative monuments that capture, for us, a static photograph of Ostia's changing religious mores. Architecture was integral to the social process by which Ostia became a Christian town.

I will also show that Ostia's Christian community may not have been as monolithic, or homogeneous, as once thought. Textual sources, which I discuss in [Chapter 5](#), preserve two divergent attributions for Ostia's only intramural basilica, one naming the church after Peter, Paul, and John the Baptist, the other attributing it to Saint Lawrence. These competing traditions, I suggest, are signs of an internal debate involving power and patronage among Ostia's wealthy Late Antique Christians. They may even shed light on architectural developments at the intramural basilica, where the construction of a purpose-built baptistery in the fifth century functioned as much as an assertion of urban power and prestige as it did as a site for rituals of initiation.

Last, I chart out how and when the old city center of Ostia, formerly centered around traditional religious sites, became a thoroughly Christian community, radically removed from the old Roman town. This process took two centuries after the legalization of Christianity. Only in the sixth century can we safely say that Ostia's festival calendar, centered on the memory of Christian martyrs and the social prominence afforded to specifically Christian sacred sites, changed the daily rhythms of life in the town. This book's Postscript brings an Islamic army to the gates of the town, finds the Jewish community abandoned outside the walls of the new Christian town, and puts the history of Ostia at the doorstep of the Middle Ages.

In sum, this book pulls Roman Ostia out of the ashes of an imagined catastrophic event that has long clouded scholarly appreciation for features of its daily life in Late Antiquity. The result is a more nuanced view of religious transformation and change at Ostia from the third through the eighth centuries, one that starts with the premise that nothing ever had to change socially at Rome's old harbor town. The fact that it did – by the sixth century – establishes a testable model for how to gauge the study of much larger urban environments like Rome during the same time: by first appreciating the vibrancy of dominant Roman traditions and only then turning our attention to the interaction of Christian, Jewish, and Roman traditions across that shared urban landscape. In this way Ostia, I suggest, can once again offer a welcome window onto the patterns of life in Rome. It may not succeed in covering every aspect of social and religious life in the Late Antique town, but its most useful contribution will be to outline a set of questions and to test a range of approaches that might prove helpful in any further study of the third through the

eighth centuries. Thus, even if Late Antique Ostia has been a void in the scholarly imagination, this book shows that daily life at Rome's old harbor was never quite as empty as we have made it out to be.

A note on the Ostian address system

As Map 1 shows, Ostia Antica is divided into five regions, for purposes of modern study. Each region comprises a number of *insulae*, or blocks, and each block is subdivided into a series of numbered buildings. Researchers commonly use this sequence of digits when referring to sites throughout the town. I follow that model here.

PART ONE

BACKGROUND

New approaches to daily life in Late Antique Ostia

Recent research in a variety of disciplines has changed the ways that late Roman archaeologists and social historians analyze material and textual evidence. These developments include greater attention to anthropological approaches in material culture studies, a more nuanced role for social memory in the field of ancient history and archaeology, and critiques of earlier paradigms related to the model of “Christianization.” These approaches have developed alongside an increased awareness of the role that identity plays in the study of ancient religions and have grown out of a more rigorous investigation into the study of Roman religion itself. This chapter surveys that research and introduces my own approach to the study of Late Antique identity, one based on a sociological model first deployed to investigate minority identities in the modern period. The following example from Ostia provides a helpful introduction to this chapter and will offer an illustrative, paradigmatic case for some of the theories and methods used throughout this book.

Sometime around 305 BCE, as best we can tell, a group of laborers, perhaps rugged Roman soldiers, was engaged in a massive building project near the Roman coast. There, at a place known as Ostia because of its location near the mouth (Latin, *os*) of the Tiber River, the workers were busy erecting a *castrum*, or defensive wall, for the nascent Roman colony. For building material, the organizers of the project had arranged for a massive quantity of tufa to be delivered from the quarries near Fidenae, just north of Rome. Given the scope of the intended project – a rectangular fortification wall measuring approximately 194 meters long by 126 meters wide – stacks of the distinctively ochre-colored material must have occupied the construction site for months. When it was finished,

the wall was approximately 1.6 meters thick, and although the original height of the wall is not preserved, sections of it today are still 6.6 meters tall. At the time of the project's completion, the castrum towered over the newly enclosed city and the surrounding territory (Figure 4).¹

We do not know how quickly this castrum was erected, and we can only speculate about what forces might have motivated the workers to undertake such a formidable task in the first place.² What we do know, however, is that sometime at the very start of the project – perhaps during the initial phases of digging out an area for the wall's foundation – some pieces of pottery fell, or were discarded, into the open trenches. Soon, they were buried next to the lowest levels of the Fidenae tufa. Hidden from history, hundreds, if not thousands, of these ceramic pieces and others like them lay dormant for nearly 2,300 years until, through careful stratigraphic excavation, fragments were recovered, removed, and analyzed. With them emerged an indisputable *terminus post quem* for the construction of the wall: sometime after 305 BCE – that is, at the turn of the third century.³

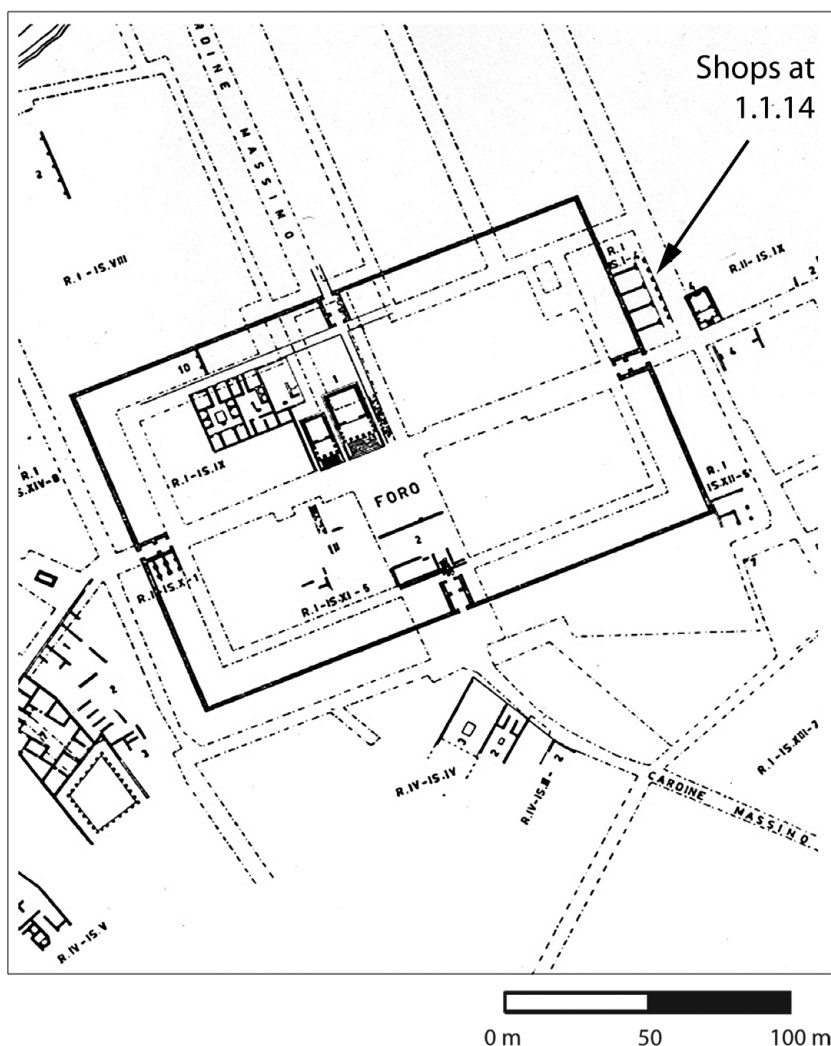
How does an isolated episode like the foundation of the castrum and its reception over time shape our approach to Ostia in Late Antiquity? To begin, the foundation date revealed by the ceramics flatly contradicts the testimony of several Roman writers, such as Ennius, Cicero, Livy, and Pliny, the glory of their names notwithstanding, all of whom claimed that Ostia was founded by Rome's fourth king, Ancus Marcius. That man, if he existed at all, lived at the end of the seventh century BCE.⁴ And yet, the power of the written tradition was so strong that it was

¹ For the evidence and measurements, see *SdO* 1.63–77. For a description of the tufa, see *NTDAR* 1992, 438.

² For one hypothesis, see Livy, who mentions marauding Greek ships near the Italian shore in the fourth century BCE (“mare infestum classibus Graecorum erat oraque litoris Antiatis Laurensque tractus et Tiberis Ostia,” 7.25.4; “Antiates in agrum Ostiensem Ardeatem Solonium incursiones fecerunt,” 8.12.2).

³ For the dating of the ceramic material, see Martin 1999 and Martin 1996; for an archaeological overview of the early settlement at Ostia, see Zevi 2002a and Zevi 2001b.

⁴ Ennius *Ann.* 2, fr. 22; Cic. *De Rep.* 2.3.5, 2.18.33; Livy 1.33.9; Dion. Hal. 3.44.3; Strabo 5.3.5; Festus 214; and Florus 1.4. The exception is Polybius, who attributes the foundation to Numa Pompilius. The elder Pliny attributes Ostia's foundation to an anonymous king (“ab Romano Ostia colonia rege deducta,” Plin. *HN* 3.56). Elsewhere he names Ancus Marcius as having established the first organized campaign to extract salt from the Ostian territory (“Ancus Marcius rex . . . salinas primus instituit,” Plin. *HN* 31.89). Salt trading was an important aspect of Ostia's early economy; see Zevi 2002a, 2002b, and 2001a.



4. Plan of the early castrum wall with shops at 1.1.14. Author's modifications after *SdO* 1, fig. 19.

memorialized in an inscription sometime during the second century CE.⁵ By Late Antiquity the validity of this attribution was inviolate. Historians and commentators, bishops and etymologists, everyone from Aurelius Victor to Servius, from Jerome to Isidore of Seville, attributed Ostia's founding to Ancus Marcius or to the period of his purported reign.⁶

⁵ "A[nco] | Mar[cio] | reg[i] quart[o] a R[omulo] | qui a[b urbe c]ondit[a] | [pri]mum colon[iam] | – dedux[it]," *CIL* 14⁸.4338. For its date, see Zevi 2000.

⁶ Aur. Vict. *De vir. illus.* 5.3; Eutr. 1.5; Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.13, 6.815; Isid. *Etym.* 15.1.56. In the copy of Eusebius's *Chronicon* preserved and elaborated on by Jerome, Ostia's

Given this widespread tradition, it makes sense that at least one fifth-century chronographer, Polemius Silvius, believed that Ostia was Rome's first colony.⁷

The power of Ostia, even in Late Antiquity, stemmed from the fact that it was perceived to be old – even older than it actually was. In short, the awareness and perception of antiquity offers a new model for understanding life in the Late Antique city.

Developments in post-processual archaeology

This book suggests that life in Late Antique Ostia cannot be adequately understood without recognizing the importance of Ostia's republican and imperial past. For it was the past, I suggest, that played an active role in shaping social identities during this complex time. This approach marks a radical departure from earlier ways of interpreting Ostia's archaeological record, but new anthropological and archaeological theories warrant it. These methods can best be characterized as “post-processual,” which describes a movement away from earlier (“processualist”) assumptions that often viewed the archaeological record as a static phenomenon, capturing and reflecting the cultural processes taking place around it. Post-processualist archaeological approaches, by contrast, emphasize the ways in which artifacts, buildings, and space itself contribute to these cultural processes – influencing them, rejecting them, or promoting them as agents of social change.⁸

For that reason, I argue in Part Two that Christian churches do not represent static snapshots of religious change in Late Antique towns, pace Ramsay MacMullen's recent study of “popular Christianity” and ecclesiastical architecture.⁹ We cannot assume that a building's dimensions accurately reflect the size of the community who worshipped there, nor can we deduce by a building's presence alone the relative number of Christians proportionate to a town. The construction of Christian churches must be seen as shaping late Roman society, not illustrating

foundation is dated to Ancus Marcius's reign (“Ancus Marcius . . . supra mare XVI ab urbe miliario Ostiam condidit,” Euseb. *Chron.*, ed. Fotheringham 1923, 170).

⁷ “(Ostia) quae prima colonia facta est,” Pol. Silv. *CIL* 1.2, 335.

⁸ Hodder 2003, 1–17; see also Pruecel 1995. On space as “a medium itself,” which “does not exist apart from events” but rather is “socially produced,” see Tilley 1994, 10.

⁹ See MacMullen 2009.

the “real” social world of textual sources. MacMullen himself and other historians like Moses Finley have long advocated this need for evidentiary balance. “The ‘happy days’ are gone,” Finley wrote, “when the historians of antiquity could relegate archaeology to a minor ancillary activity that provided picturesque information about private life and art with which to dress up the ‘real’ history derived from written evidence.”¹⁰ The result has been a welcome place for archaeology in the historian’s toolbox. Post-processual approaches have helped refine those tools.

An added part of this toolbox is also a greater appreciation for the durability of preexisting features within urban environments, buildings and artifacts produced at an earlier time that may have remained present for generations. These, too, need to be seen as shaping the ways groups and individuals conceptualize their relationships to the past. “Life,” as one archaeologist has written, “must be lived amidst that which was made before” – an observation that raises questions about the many ways in which the past can contribute to the formation of present identities.¹¹ Thus, as we see in [Chapter 2](#), the urban image of Late Antique Ostia need not have stayed exactly the same as it was during early periods of history for it to have imprinted itself upon the Late Antique viewer. That fact will be more readily apparent if we recognize that people’s perceptions of urban living in Late Antiquity were also changing from the imperial period. Late Antique Ostia was not a classical cityscape – there were pockets of decay and abandonment – but that does not make instances of Late Antique urban investment, repair, and renewal any less impressive. “Decay,” as Neil Christie has described it, necessarily involved “a redefinition” or “an ideological modification” to earlier concepts of city life.¹² That definition holds true for Ostia in Late Antiquity, as well, and has a significant impact on how we approach the patterns of daily life in the Late Antique city, where the past played a constituent part in the formation of people’s present social identities.

Memory in text and material culture

Late Antique Ostia, like the period of Ostia’s foundation, is not exactly brimming with textual sources. Across its highly contoured surface of

¹⁰ Finley 1985, 7; for archaeology’s relationship to history, see Sauer 2004.

¹¹ Ingold 1993, 154; see also Crumley 1999, 271–72.

¹² Christie 2006, 183–280, with the quotation at 185. See also Cantino Wataghin 1992.

brick-built architecture and basalt-paved roads lie only scant remains of a written historical record. Parts of Augustine's *Confessions* hint at the tranquil majesty of the Italian pines that once populated a city of elite residences, apartments, and baths.¹³ A poem by Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, by contrast, affords a view of Ostia from a vantage rarely considered today: aboard a ship, looking back at the coast. Both these texts raise more questions than they answer.

Augustine crafted his account in North Africa, a decade after visiting Ostia – if waiting for a boat ride home really counts as a “visit.” He says very little about Ostia's temples and nothing at all about the Forum or its shops, nor does he mention the city's synagogue.¹⁴ Claudius Namatianus presents an even more limited characterization of the town. He claims that Ostia's only redeeming value in the fifth century was the glory of having once hosted Aeneas, whose ship was thought to have landed nearby.¹⁵ This allusion to Rome's consummate traveler may have been a nice rhetorical touch for a late Roman aristocrat embarking on a sea journey back to his own homeland, Gaul. But was Late Antique Ostia truly so desolate as to have had no other outstanding features in the minds of its visitors? Reading the poetry of Claudius Namatianus, several historians have repeated his verses as fact.¹⁶

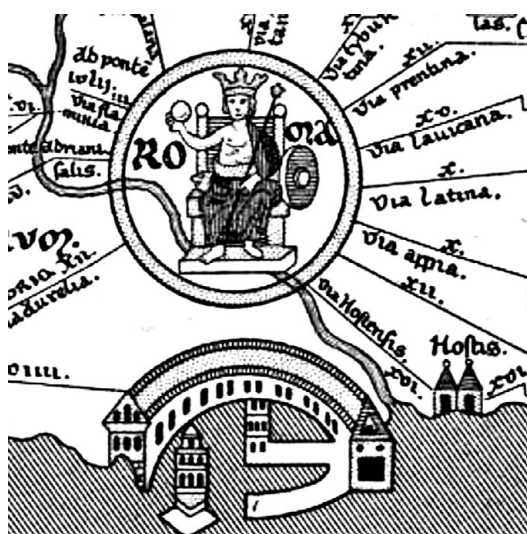
Scholars like Ludovico Paschetto, for example, who in 1912 penned the first historical narrative of life at Ostia, saw in Rutilius Namatianus's words only one conclusion: that Ostia had declined in Late Antiquity and that its decline must therefore date to the fourth century. Paschetto marshaled evidence from the *Tabula Peutingeriana* to confirm this view,

¹³ “procurante te occultis tuis modis, ut ego et ipsa soli staremus, incumbentes ad quandam fenestram unde hortus intra domum quae nos habebat prospectabatur, illic apud Ostia Tiberina, ubi remoti a turbis post longi itineris laborem instaurabamus nos navigationi,” Aug. *Conf.* 9.10.23.

¹⁴ “visum etiam mihi est ut irem lavatum, quod audieram inde balneis nomen inditum quia graeci balanion dixerint, quod anxietatem pellat ex animo,” Aug. *Conf.* 9.12.32 (after his mother's death). On the possibility that Augustine visited the Forum Baths, based on the discovery of a Greek inscription (λουτράον ἀλεξιπνονο[ν], “baths that drive away pain”), see Meiggs 1973, 475. The inscription is in *ILCV* 1901A.

¹⁵ “hospitis Aeneae gloria sola manet,” Rut. Namat. 1.182. For Rutilius's urban prefecture, see id. 1.159–60; for his role as secretary of state in 412 CE, see ibid. 1.562–63; for the date, see *CTh* 6.27.15. An alternate tradition spells his name “Namatius.” For these points and the date of his departure from Italy to Gaul in 417, see *PLRE* 2.770–71.

¹⁶ After Rutilius Namatianus, “[I]’avvenire è chiuso per Ostia. La sua sorte è scritta,” Paschetto 1912, 92; see also Calza and Nash 1959, 117; and Meiggs 1973, 98.



5. Detail of Ostia and Rome on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Reproduced in *Classical Atlas*, by Alexander G. Findlay. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1849.

and his assumptions have had a lasting impact on Ostian scholarship. They merit renewed consideration.

The Peutinger Map is a fragmentary parchment that dates to the Renaissance period.¹⁷ Originally measuring approximately 7.5 meters in length, it is currently preserved in eleven sections, each approximately 62 centimeters long by 30 centimeters wide, and it depicts the roads and cities of Rome's old empire.¹⁸ Giving prominent iconographic status to fourth-century cities such as Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch, it preserves a tantalizing glimpse of the Late Antique world and its urban focal points. In fact, because of the prominence of Constantinople, nineteenth-century scholars conjectured that the Renaissance map had been derived from a fourth-century original, no longer extant.¹⁹ It may, in fact, also tell us about a much earlier time.

Portus dominates the drawing of the Roman coast, dwarfing Ostia (*Hostia*), depicted in Figure 5. Constantine had annexed Portus from Ostia at the start of the fourth century, giving the town its own rights and privileges independent of the old harbor town. An earlier generation of scholars was thus eager to embrace the drawing's hierarchy of scale as a historical clue to the nature of daily life in each city. Paschetto, for example, interpreted the disproportionate depictions as evidence that the

¹⁷ For the map's history, see now Talbert 2010.

¹⁸ Descoeudres 2005, 77. See also Bowersock 2006, 1–29.

¹⁹ Descoeudres 2005, 77.

vibrant economic system that had benefited Ostia in the High Empire had now shifted its base to the north. The old harbor was assumed to have devolved into the ghost town of Rutilius Namatianus poetry. As recent archaeological evidence has shown, Portus did witness a substantial period of growth during the fourth century.²⁰ Paschetto, however, limited by the archaeological evidence available at the time, inferred causation from the map. He concluded that Portus's rapid rise must have been the corresponding cause for Ostia's Late Antique "decline."²¹ According to this view, after the economic engine of shipping and trade moved north, Ostia's only remaining distinction was its small dwellings and pitched roofs.

In effect, by locating the moment of this deterioration in the fourth century, not the late sixth century, as Carlo Fea had first conjectured in the 1800s, Paschetto's narrative alone may have miscalculated Ostia's "decline" by two hundred years or more.²² This kind of misdiagnosis – prompted by the allure of seeing Late Antique Ostia through the lens of the Peutinger Map – may have even conditioned subsequent excavators to "expect" that the most recent stratigraphic layers of habitation were "supposed to date" to the fourth century. The memory of Ostia's quick Roman decline was born. It is a documented fact, for example, that during some early campaigns, excavated material postdating the fourth century was often deemed of little worth and simply thrown away.²³ That is the most plausible explanation for why so little Late Antique material postdating the fourth century was recorded during early excavations and why so much valuable post-fourth-century material has appeared regularly in contemporary ones. Fortunately, like a good pair of glasses, it is precisely this new fieldwork, some of which is synthesized in the next chapter, that has corrected this imbalance. The picture of a zero-sum game at Rome's harbor, fought between Ostia and Portus, has now been debunked.

The Peutinger Map, consequently, demands a second look. Paschetto never noticed that the iconography of Portus, with its semicircular harbor front, bears more similarity to architectural representations of Claudius's

²⁰ Paroli 1993. See also Coccia 1996 and Keay et al. 2005.

²¹ Paschetto 1912. See also Vaglieri 1914.

²² "Fatte diligenti ricerche sulla qualità dell'rovine . . . mi sembra poterne dedurre che l'antica Ostia fosse mezzo abbandonata, o rovinata in tempi ancora alti, vale a dire nel V e VI secolo dell'era cristiana," Fea 1802, 23–24.

²³ See Martin 1999.

first harbor at the site than it does to the hexagonal footprint that defined the later Trajanic port. The fact that the map includes representations of the vanished cities of Pompeii and Stabiae with the same iconographic shorthand as it does for Ostia is also significant in this regard. Each city is marked with double-pitched roofs similar to those that symbolize Rome's old harbor town. On the basis of these features, which are inconsistent with a fourth-century date, Jean-Paul Descœudres has concluded that the Peutinger Map preserves traces of an earlier Roman map. This earlier map most likely dated to the first century CE, before the eruption of Vesuvius. It follows that the tiny houses of Ostia and the enormity of its neighbor to the north contribute little to our understanding of life at Rome's harbor in Late Antiquity because we have no way of knowing precisely what historical period is being represented. What *is* being represented is the memory of Ostia in Late Antique times. The map presents the town precisely as it was understood by Servius, Jerome, Isidore of Seville, and Stephanus of Constantinople: that is, as inextricably old.

It thus becomes paramount to recognize that writers such as Augustine and Rutilius Namatianus, just like Cicero and Ennius before them, as well as the anonymous cartographer or cartographers who produced the Peutinger Map, were never interested in writing or documenting the history of Ostia at all. They were interested in handing down social memories.²⁴ Augustine's Ostia, for example, is a place of daily prayer, hymns, and reflection, the city as he remembered it. Rutilius's Ostia is also a literary construct whose description in verse tells us very little about how life was lived at the time. Both these latter writers have been sufficiently, perhaps exhaustively, studied from an intellectual and literary point of view,²⁵ but what all these textual and material memories have lacked until now is a proper social-historical context.²⁶

²⁴ See Fentress and Wickham 1992; Connerton 1989. Much of *Gedächtnisgeschichte* has dealt with questions of terminology, as scholars explore ways of talking about how memories operate and how they are transmitted. For Halbwachs, memory was "collective" (1984, 49); for Connerton, "social" (1989, 6–40); for Fentress and Wickham, "articulated" (1992, 7, 46–48); for Holtorf and Williams, "prospective" and "retrospective" at the same time (2006, 244–52); and, most recently, for Jan and Aleida Assmann, "communicative" (J. Assmann 2006, 1–30; A. Assmann 2006, 27–32, 218–23).

²⁵ For Augustine's place in the intellectual climate of Late Antiquity, see O'Donnell 2005, 87–112. For Augustine's reflections about his time at Ostia, see Dobell 2009, 213–37; and Brown 2000, 121–24.

²⁶ On the importance of putting memories in context, see Fentress and Wickham 1992, 200–02. The bibliography on the topic is vast, but a few exemplary works stand out

This book uses architectural, art historical, numismatic, epigraphic, and other textual evidence to provide that context. Highly visible urban commemorations, for example, which formed a part of life at Ostia in the Roman Republic and Early Empire, did not cease to embellish the town, as we see in [Chapter 4](#). Statues continued to be erected for some of Ostia's most famous denizens, promoting the memory of these men. In the Late Antique houses, mosaics with mythological and literary subjects transformed domestic spaces into the same kind of “memory theaters” of art and culture that they had for an earlier generation of Romans;²⁷ and architectural displays, particularly those associated with burial, preserved the memory of elites and nonelites for generations to come.²⁸ The range and quality of this evidence helps us see the more famous memories of Ostia in much more nuanced light, for it is now clear that the people of Ostia, as a whole, were quite engaged in remembering far different things about their social world from what Augustine or Rutilius Namatianus would have us believe.²⁹

Taking account of this memory context is one way to appreciate the extent to which all residents of Late Antique Ostia had to negotiate, finesse, memorialize, or forget the republican and imperial past, and we need look no farther than the legacy of Ostia's castrum wall to gauge how this process played out in the lives of Ostia's residents. From its earliest days, that wall afforded the colonists, soldiers, tradesmen, and residents of Ostia a new sense of security and protection. It is no surprise that by the late republican period and into the early imperial one, shops and workspaces came to occupy the spaces around its western circuit. By the third century CE, a local guild, the *stuppatores*, had even set up shop in the same area. There, they produced caulk from flax (*stuppa*) as a way to seal the wooden seams on ships.³⁰ Nearby, along the southern extent of the castrum, architectural changes were even more

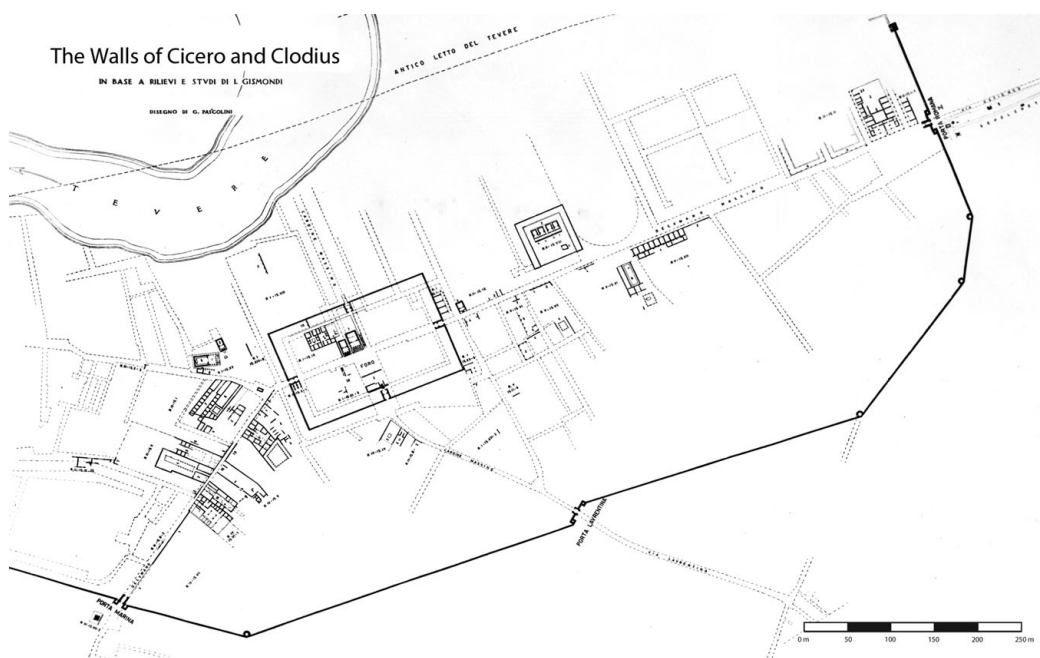
either for their relevance to the ancient Mediterranean or for the clarity of their theoretical approach: Diefenbach 2008; J. Assmann 2006; A. Assmann 2006; Holtorf and Williams 2006; Gowing 2005; Castelli 2004; Walter 2004; Echterhoff and Saar 2002; Alcock 2002, 1–35; Olick and Robbins 1998; Nora 1996, 1–20 [id. 1989]; Halbwachs 1984, 193–235; and Yates 1966. For a theoretical approach, see Le Goff 1992, xviii and 101–216.

²⁷ The concept is discussed by Bergmann 1994, 245–49.

²⁸ In general, see Yasin 2005. For the necropoleis at Ostia, see Heinzelmänn 2001b, 381–82, and Heinzelmänn 2000.

²⁹ Much as Gowing did (2005, 6–15) for the memories of Rome's republic.

³⁰ For a study of the building and the guild, see Hermansen 1982, 61–62, 119–21.



6. Plan of the republican town walls, mid first century BCE. From *SdO* 1, fig. 19.

radical. Sometime during the first decades of the first century CE, large portions of the tufa were dismantled, leveling the area for a Temple of Roma and Augustus. The castrum's northern circuit was also torn down, slightly later. And, by the start of the second century, several bars and restaurants, an apartment complex, and a large warehouse stood in its footprint.

Life had changed for Ostia's residents in the 500 years from the third century BCE to the second century CE. Architectural developments across the city, both inside and outside the castrum walls, confirm that analysis.³¹ Indeed, three centuries after Ostia's foundation, an entirely new city wall was needed to protect the town (Figure 6). Formerly attributed to Sulla (c. 138 BCE–78 BCE) but now shown to have been built by Cicero and Clodius – that is, toward the middle of the first century BCE – this wall encompassed far more territory than Ostia's colonists might have ever imagined: nearly 69 hectares.³² With its arrival, the city itself changed. The castrum no longer defined life in Roman Ostia.

³¹ See *SdO* 1.97–154.

³² For a discussion of the archaeological and textual material relating to the so-called Sullan walls and for their new date, see Gessert 2001, 89–90; and Zevi 1997, 89–93.

Landscapes, however, have memories, too.³³ For one, a person's repeated interaction with the things around him or her – buildings or rivers, monuments or streets – can often lead to a series of “biographic encounters,” whereby the things themselves help generate a memory of an individual's past actions, calling them out to him or her like billboards along a strip.³⁴ Quintilian elaborated on this theme in the first century CE: “For when we've gone back to a particular place after some time, we recognize not only the place itself but also the things which we did there; [past] people draw near; sometimes even silent thoughts [we had] come back to mind.”³⁵ At still other times, it is the physical and tangible presence of the past itself that generates memories of bygone days. In these cases, a town's urban image is like a palimpsest, whose earlier traces, however carefully they may have been removed, continue to show through to the surface above.³⁶ None of these traces, or memories, need be perfectly preserved; they need only exist in a way that “give[s] residents a sense of being rooted,” persuading them that the past is present in their daily lives.³⁷

It is vital, then, to recognize that even something as old as the republican castrum formed a memorable part of Ostia's urban palimpsest, where the fragments of the past were frequently juxtaposed to the Late Antique present. For this multilayered space shaped the identities of those who lived and worked within it.³⁸

At least ten sites around the original perimeter of the town, for example, incorporated portions of the old castrum wall in later Roman construction projects.³⁹ Not all of these reused wall segments were visible or necessarily known to Roman and Late Antique viewers. In at least one instance, a set of shops at 1.10.3, the wall was overwhelmed by the

³³ Tilley 1994 and Tilley 2004.

³⁴ See Schama 1995; Holtorf and Williams 2006.

³⁵ “nam cum in loca aliqua post tempus reversi sumus, non ipsa agnoscimus tantum sed etiam quae in iis fecerimus reminiscimur, personaeque subeunt, nonnumquam tacitae quoque cogitationes in mentem revertuntur,” Quint. *Instit.* 11.2.17.

³⁶ For the idea of cities as palimpsests, see Barker and Lloyd 1991, 1–9; see also Holtorf and Williams 2006, 237–38; and Huyssen 2003.

³⁷ Lowenthal 1975, 7–8.

³⁸ For archaeological approaches to landscapes, see Hodder 1976 and Hodder 2003; Bradley 2000, 33–43, 91–113, and Bradley 1998, 85–100; Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Ingold 1993; and Shanks and Tilley 1987. For the role of the past in the creation of identity, see Bradley 1998, 68–73; and Bender 1998, 25–38.

³⁹ *SdO* 1.67–68.



7. The castrum wall at the shops at 1.1.1–4. Photograph by John Clarke.

rising levels of later floors. By the time the last pavement was installed, sometime in the fourth century CE, no more than 20 centimeters of the old castrum was peeking up from the ground. If, throughout the shop's history, the wall itself had been plastered or fitted with revetment, the physical presence of the castrum may have existed only as a memory in the minds of the people who worked there.⁴⁰

Insula 1.1.1–4, on the other hand, offers a powerful testament to the architectural durability of the past and its continued relevance in the lives of Ostia's later residents. At the intersection of the Decumanus Maximus and the road known today as the via dei Molini, a sizable circuit of the eastern castrum (Figure 7) still stands. It measures nearly 40 meters long and, for nearly a third of its length, is preserved at a height of slightly more than 6 meters. Archaeologically, little is known about this site before the mid-second century CE.⁴¹ At that time, at least four separate working spaces, each with multiple rooms, were installed on either side of the old defensive circuit. Most likely, these rooms housed small shops that served an area of heavy traffic just off Ostia's main east-west axis.

⁴⁰ For the stratigraphic analysis, see Martin 1999. For discussions of memory and architecture, see Fentress et al. 2005; and Nelson and Olin 2003. For the discussion of paintings on the surface of the brick or tufa masonry at Ostia, see Mols 2001 and Liedtke 2001. For marble revetment, see Gering 2004.

⁴¹ *SdO* 1.235 (Hadrianic date, 117–38 CE).

Shops 1–3 were constructed with doors facing west. Shop 1, a larger set of rooms with a small portico, was constructed on the other side; its doors faced east. Each of these second-century shops used the original castrum as its rear enclosure. Although there is no direct evidence to support or deny the presence of occupation here beyond that period – much of Ostia’s later archaeological evidence was “obliterated by clearance” during the twentieth century – the stratigraphic evidence of ceramic deposits from the shop at 1.10.3, and the sequence of identifiable floors and surfaces observable therein, do suggest that rooms and stores like these remained in use at least through the fourth century CE.⁴²

The shops positioned around the castrum’s footprint and at 1.1.1–4 offer strong testimony that, at least in some neighborhoods of Ostia, the republican past remained both visibly present and architecturally useful during later periods of life at Ostia. These old walls may have been incorporated into their new contexts out of a respect for history, or they may have been recycled as a way to drive down the cost of renovation. As with so many other fragments of sculpture or architecture reused in later contexts, the intent behind their reuse is frustratingly difficult to recover.⁴³

However, to a Roman of the Late Empire passing by the shops at 1.1.1–4, headed perhaps to the bakery up the road, the sight of those Cyclopean blocks and their distinctly ochre tufa, stacked seven rows high or more, was an unmistakable reminder that life in Ostia during the third century CE was lived alongside 600 years of history. For some, like the proprietor of those shops, that meant history was inescapable, and the presence of an ancient wall in the back storeroom or workspace may even have engendered a sense of civic pride. One need only think of a similar shop in Jerusalem, behind whose door lies the rare, fourth-century masonry of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher, to know that storekeepers and their families can often develop curiously proud attachments to older, seemingly random walls. They might even charge exorbitant sums to let others see and touch those signs of the past, when strangers go in search of them.⁴⁴

⁴² The quotation is from Martin 1999, 76, who also provides the stratigraphic analysis.

⁴³ For the scholarship on *spolia*, see M. Hansen 2003; Alchermes 1994; Kinney 1997; and Kinney 1995.

⁴⁴ Murphy-O’Connor 1998, 55–57.

This book takes account of how tangible memories like these shaped the lives of the people in Late Antique Ostia. It does so, in particular, by focusing on evidence from the religious landscape of the town.

Beyond “Christianization”

To study all of Ostia through the textual and material layers of its history is to face a daunting task, one that would take several volumes. This book aims for a much more focused and representative treatment. It takes as its body of evidence one aspect of that Late Antique environment: the religious, or sacred, landscape.⁴⁵ This approach is full of its own hazards and potential distortions, and nowhere are they more evidenced than in the differing ways scholars have approached the study of early Christianity.

It may be helpful at this point to return to Giorgio de Chirico’s painting (see Figure 1) and, specifically, to the image of the train to explore some of the methodological issues involved in the study of Christian art and architecture in urban settings like that at Ostia. The train itself is only one part of its broader urban landscape, and describing the painting from its perspective produces significant distortions in our understanding of the dynamics of the town. Such is the distorting effect of studying Christianity at the expense of its urban and social context, and Ostian scholarship has not been immune from these distortions. The campaigns of the Fascist Era, for example, have had a lasting impact on how Ostian scholars have framed their approach to Christian archaeological material. That history is intertwined with the arrival of yet another train loaded with equally charged symbolism.

In the 1920s Mussolini undertook the construction of the first railway line between Rome and the western coast of Italy; his desire was to strengthen the connection between the modern capital and its ancient past. The establishment of this train, which still joins Rome to Ostia (Map 1, no. 21), was contemporaneous with the excavation of some of the town’s most important monuments, but its campaigns were driven by a distinct set of assumptions about Roman history and the glory of Rome’s republican and imperial past. The Fascist ideology of the 1920s

⁴⁵ For sacred landscapes, see Caseau 1999; Derks 1997; Crumley 1999; and Kristian-Graham 2001.

and 1930s, for example, which promoted Mussolini as a new Hercules, may have even influenced the interpretations being assigned to the Ostian evidence at the time, such as the discovery of the town's republican "Temple of Hercules" (Map 1, no. 8). It is hardly coincidental that little Late Antique evidence remains from these early excavations.

According to Mussolini's polemical view of history, Christianity had not truly arrived in Rome until the powerful Renaissance and Baroque popes established their own architectural and urban imprint on the face of the ancient city. In the eyes of "il Duce," it was these two clearly defined cultures – ancient "pagan" Rome, on the one hand, and papal "Christian" Rome, on the other – that had bequeathed their legacies to "una Terza Roma," a third Rome, the capital of a united Italy.⁴⁶ The process by which that transformation took place was not one that attracted much attention at the time. Today, the study of that interstitial period, often described in terms of the "Christianization" of the empire, has become widespread. That said, there are still heated debates about whether the phenomenon itself was characterized by a short, loud blast of a horn or by the drawn-out, overworked chugging of an engine.⁴⁷ This book argues for the latter approach.

Continued interest in "Christianization," however, has now led to critical reappraisal of the term. For one, it seems to imply Christian homogeneity during a time of theological dispute, when multiple versions of Christianity proliferated.⁴⁸ For that reason alone, narratives of Christianization are often "at their most misleading when they speak of the process as if it were a single block, capable of a single comprehensive description," as Peter Brown has written.⁴⁹ A more nuanced framework, for example, would see this dynamic as a social and cultural phenomenon driven as much by outward push as by receptive pull.⁵⁰ Jaś Elsner has advocated one such position, describing Christianization as a process that "shared the principal concern of transforming identity (individual

⁴⁶ For Mussolini as Hercules and the ideology of the period expressed in architecture, see Gentile 2007, 33–83.

⁴⁷ Compare, for example, Barnes 2011 and Van Dam 2011.

⁴⁸ Curran 2000, 116–17. Generally, see Brown 2003, 12–14. For the diversity of Christian beliefs as seen in architecture, see also Maier 2005, as well as the discussion of competing sacred topographies in Elsner 2003b, 72–75, and the landscape of Ravenna in Deliyannis 2010.

⁴⁹ See the introduction to Brown 1995.

⁵⁰ For "conversion by coercion," see MacMullen 1984, 86–101. On two-way cultural processes, see also Woolf 2005, 106–12; and MacMullen 2000 (on Romanization); see Friedman 2000 (on globalization, a helpful comparative model).

and collective) by fusing traditional and local concerns with a centripetal sense of belonging to a larger whole.”⁵¹

I agree with this modified approach and yet have decided to eschew the term altogether because of a much more serious defect in its application: “Christianization” predicts the outcome of the very processes it sets out to study.⁵² The “triumph of Christianity” was never foreordained or irreversible. This caveat, not often acknowledged in secondary scholarship, nevertheless, informs our study because, as Pierre Nora has noted, “we cannot know in advance what should be remembered.”⁵³ The production of Christian texts, the passage of Christian laws, and the construction of Christian monuments all played active roles in promoting and advancing specific views of individual and group identity, in specific settings at specific times, and in passing down selected social memories. Only when all these phenomena are brought together in dialogue with the Roman past and its own multifarious, diverse traditions will any sense of the Late Antique social dynamic emerge.

For that reason, I have proposed here a more rigorous attention to the study of individual identities in Late Antique Ostia: how they were formed, hidden, managed, and expressed throughout the city, in different social contexts at different times. For just as the age of Augustus has often been approached through the power of its competing and overlapping images, Late Antique Ostia is a subject that calls for an analysis of its competing and overlapping memories,⁵⁴ moving away from the assumption that Christianity was destined to overcome the “pagan” past. Such was never the case. And yet, no memory has proved more trenchant and deleterious to the study of Late Antique Ostia than the ideological one that views this period in dichotomous terms.

Roman religion

Disavowing the term “Christianization” has other salutary benefits. For scholars have often used the word “Christianization” as an umbrella term

⁵¹ Elsner 1998, 138–43; see also Trombley 1993; and MacMullen 1984, 1–9.

⁵² Adapting language from Roth (2007, 8) on “Romanization.” For further critique of the term, see Mattingly 2004, 14–15, who recasts the study of Romanization as a study of how individual identities are formed.

⁵³ Nora 1996, 9.

⁵⁴ See Zanker 1990.

to describe, where securely identifiable, the construction of Christian buildings or the appearance of Christian iconography. This approach has often produced little more than a list of “Christian sites” and “Christian objects,” often juxtaposed to “pagan sites” and “pagan objects,” with less regard for how all monuments and artifacts participated in the formation of Late Antique identities. The result, up until now, has been a static portrait of the urban environment, one in which the emergence of a visible Christianity is assumed to have been the result of other, more powerful social factors. The processes by which those changes came about – and the ways in which material culture may have contributed to them, as participants in that change – have thus received little treatment because Ostia has been neatly divided into two camps (“if this is the world at all,” Alice said).⁵⁵

Life in Late Antique Ostia, however, was not lived in the squares of a chessboard. Whether they worshipped Jupiter or Hercules, Isis, Mithras, Serapis, or Attis, it is the followers of Ostia’s expansive and diverse pantheon who populated the city and quite often spilled out into its streets. This book moves them back to where they belong: the foreground of the study. I have characterized these men and women as the followers of Rome’s traditional religions, and that label deserves some comment.

TRADITIONAL ROMAN RELIGIONS

The word “traditional” is not meant to deny that aspects of Roman religion could appear odd, disturbing, or new to the society at large. Cybele’s castrated priests, the Galli, are a well-known illustration of a Roman literary fascination with the exotic. The means by which non-Roman cults were brought to the capital also ensured a constant supply of new names and rituals, all of which may have *seemed* foreign at the

⁵⁵ On aspects of social and political life in other Late Antique cities, see the bibliographic essays by Lavan 2006 and Schachner 2006. On urbanism, see Lavan 2001; Lepelley 1992; and the earlier work of Liebeschuetz 2001, 1992, and 1972. For Rome, see Harris and Arce 1999 and the volume *ActaAArtHist* 17 (2003). For Italy, see Ward-Perkins 1984 and Christie 2006. For other discussions, see the contributions to Bowes and Kulikowski 2005 on Spain. For Constantinople, see Bassett 2004 and Bauer 1996. For evidence from Greece, see Bowden 2001. For North Africa, see Roueché and Reynolds 1989; and Smith 1999. For multiregional approaches, see also see Brenk 2003; Wharton 1995; and Krautheimer 1983. This list is meant to be representative, not comprehensive.

time of their arrival.⁵⁶ Even the worship of Mithras, whose cult was not officially associated with public vows, has long been cataloged among the “eastern,” or foreign, “religions” of Rome for that very reason.⁵⁷ That *perception* of difference explains why an earlier generation of scholars long assumed that worship of the Persian god Mitra in Hellenistic times proved the non-Roman nature of the Mithras cult in the Late Empire.⁵⁸ “Difference” from the assumed norm was treated as a sign of cultural contamination, not worthy of the label “Roman.”

What has emerged today is that the relationship between Persian “Mitra” and Roman “Mithras” is far from clear. Some scholars have even suggested that Roman practice may have transformed the Persian cult so radically that, by the third century CE, it bore no relation to its Persian predecessor at all.⁵⁹ I agree with this evaluation but would like to push the evidence further. Anthropologist Victor Turner proposed that cultural hybridity is a necessary step by which minority groups integrate themselves into a dominant culture.⁶⁰ In my opinion, the fact that members of the Mithras cult did assimilate aspects of their cult to Roman tradition explains why the cult flourished in cities and towns of the Roman Empire by the middle of the third century CE. In short, the worship of Mithras, like other so-called mystery cults, found its place within the “traditional” religious landscape because that Roman religious landscape proved to be a highly flexible, accommodating one for those who wanted to work within the system. This framework is the one I use to approach “traditional Roman religion” throughout the book, and it is one that resonates across denominations.

There are two other points of vocabulary that deserve mention in this context. Many scholars have begun to eschew the terms “eastern” and “oriental” when referring to Mithras, Isis, Attis, Serapis, or Cybele. I am one of them.⁶¹ There has long been a recognition in the study of Roman

⁵⁶ On the Galli in literature, see now Latham 2012. On foreign cults, see Orlin 2002. On the concept of *evocatio*, see now Ando (2008, 128–38), who suggests that we might not know as much about it as we assume.

⁵⁷ See *SdO* 2 (ed., Becatti 1954); see also Squarciapino 1962 and Cumont 1911.

⁵⁸ Clauss 2000, 3–8.

⁵⁹ See the summary at Beck 1984, 2063–71.

⁶⁰ Turner 1969, 127. I am thankful to Michael White for the reference.

⁶¹ Pace Alan Cameron (2011, 142), for example. I will address this point in the following paragraph; see also Lavan and Mulryan 2011. In general, an excellent introduction to mystery cults is now H. Bowden 2010.

religions, for example, that the term “oriental,” borrowed from Franz Cumont, implies a qualitative difference between the Greco-Roman west and the “more extravagant” east, setting up a cultural dichotomy where none existed.⁶² Otto Brendel was one of the first to challenge the usefulness of these kinds of geographic and cultural labels, pointing out the cultural eclecticism that pervades Roman material culture from its origins. There have been many other studies since.⁶³ That said, one scholar has recently suggested that we retain the use of the term as a “convenient shorthand” to refer to dedications made on behalf of gods like Isis, Cybele, and Mithras, even as he admits that “there is no solid basis for the once-popular notion that there were two streams in late Roman [religion]: the ‘traditionalists’ . . . and the ‘orientalists.’”⁶⁴ This position deserves some comment.

From the perspective of Roman religion, I agree with the general tenet. Many Isis inscriptions were offered for the health of the imperial family and demonstrate how people throughout the empire often used “foreign” gods to express Roman identity. We look at other examples in [Chapter 3](#).⁶⁵ The periphery, in short, often became the center of Roman culture, an important point of cultural change and one that static geographic labels elide. To return to the first part of the position, however, that the word “oriental” functions as a “convenient shorthand,” one has to ask, “Shorthand for what?” Since the time of Cumont, the word has been used as a convenient cudgel against the putative sterility of the Roman religious tradition. Cumont himself heralded the rise and proliferation of the “oriental cults” as providing spiritual nourishment for members of the late Roman world who had long been hungering for more meaningful religious experiences. The result of this worldview was the production of a century of scholarship that assumed that the Roman religious tradition was spiritually defective and bankrupt – a tradition eager for substance. According to Cumont, relief only came in the form of Christianity.⁶⁶

I find this legacy problematic. Roman religion was never a static affair. It was characterized by pluralism, syncretism, and, above all, by flexibility

⁶² Cumont 1911, 20–45.

⁶³ Brendel 1979, 38–68; Wharton (1995, 3–12) identifies the strains of nationalism and racism that have influenced broader “East-West” art historical debates. Beard, North, and Price 1998, 1.279–80; see also Roller 1999, 263–85; and Romano 2005.

⁶⁴ Cameron 2011, 142 and 153.

⁶⁵ Takács 1995.

⁶⁶ Cumont 1911, 20–44.

and constant reinvention.⁶⁷ Nor do we need to posit any systemic spiritual crisis to explain the success of cults associated with Isis, Magna Mater, Cybele, and Mithras – or even Christianity. Many sociological factors influenced their rise. To borrow the language of Victor Turner, for example, all of these cults found ways to hybridize with Roman tradition. These creative efforts at outreach, I suggest, are the very characteristics that helped to ensure the growth of their movements – without having to convert the entire populace to their practices and beliefs. Of course, for those who wished to become more passionate devotees of each particular god or goddess, rites of initiation became a powerful and constituent part of group identity, integral to the formation of community.⁶⁸ But even these practices have their roots in Greek religion, not the “oriental” other. Rites of initiation had formed an important part of the cult of Demeter at Eleusis since the seventh century BCE.⁶⁹ The fact that cults of similar design spread to the Roman world does not need theological justification.⁷⁰

“PAGANISM”

The second word that needs brief comment is “pagan.” Many scholars have detected traces of a pejorative connotation in the use of it and its related word, “paganism,” throughout the fourth and fifth centuries. I follow these interpretations.⁷¹ “Pagan” and “paganism” did function as quick and easy slurs for a minority that disapproved of any Christian connection or association with mainstream culture, and for that reason I have not used them anywhere in the book. Some scholars, however, most recently, Alan Cameron, have disagreed with the notion that the words were pejorative at all.⁷² My latest research has proposed a model that may shed some new light on this subject, and it may prove useful to summarize that model here. It opens up new avenues of exploration.

⁶⁷ See Beard, North, and Price 1998, 1.313–38, with bibliography.

⁶⁸ Turner 1969, 95–129.

⁶⁹ See now Bowden 2010.

⁷⁰ A topic to be explored in Boin (forthcoming). Generally, see Beard et al. 1998, 1.300; and also North 2005 and Price 2000.

⁷¹ See O’Donnell 2005, 182–90, with more detailed discussion at O’Donnell 1977, 165–68; and O’Donnell 1979b, 43. The discussion in Kahlos (2007, 26–42, with further bibliography) is also relevant.

⁷² See Cameron 2011, 14–32, with bibliography.

To date, the scholarly debate has seemingly faced a square peg and a round hole. Why did Christians in the Greek east call their non-Christian peers with a word that evoked the finest education around (“Hellene,” that is, “Greek”) while their peers in the Latin west were forced to use a term (“pagan,” that is, “civilian” or perhaps even “rustic”) that reflected a social reality far less esteemed? I have now proposed that both “pagan” and “paganism” were used by Christian writers exactly as “Hellene” and “Hellenism” were used in the Greek east and that both sets of terms were intended to draw lines in the sand *between* Christians over the issue of acculturation. The crux of this interpretation is to recognize that the latter terms emerged from the social world described by a well-known piece of Jewish literature, 2 Maccabees, not mainstream Greek writers. In 2 Maccabees, the “real ‘Judaism’” of the author was contrasted with other Jews who were accused of “acting Greek.”⁷³ For Christians who lived in the period after Constantine, who ravenously read the tales of the Jewish martyrs in 2 Maccabees and compared them to available Christian martyr stories, the terms “Hellene” and “Hellenism” took on a new dimension for this same reason: They spoke against Christian assimilation and Christian accommodation to Mediterranean culture.⁷⁴ Appropriating them, Christian writers with a more rigorous understanding of their identity thus gave voice to a dispute among themselves, not between two separate religious groups. For those writing in Latin, however, the force of the argument was lost in translation. These writers framed the “struggle” as one between “true Christian soldiers” and their more “civilian Christian peers” (*pagani*). Consequently, “pagan,” I would propose, is a word that tells us very little about the lives of “non-Christians.”⁷⁵

Whether that reading will prove valid now remains to be seen. At this point, however, the safest approach is not to use “pagan” or “paganism” at all. Even any attempt to appropriate these, with the intent of stripping them of their malicious connotations, implicitly accepts the legacy of their earlier stigma.

Temples were not labeled “pagan.” Statues bore no “pagan” placards. Even the roads and paths where ritual activities often took place lacked

⁷³ 2 Macc. 2:21, 8:1, and 14:38; see also Schwartz 2001, 34–35.

⁷⁴ Rutgers 2009, 19–48.

⁷⁵ Boin 2013. The written version of this paper is currently titled, “How a Sectarian Dispute in Hellenistic ‘Judaism’ Gave Rise to the Roman World of ‘Pagans and Christians.’” A draft of it is under revision.

any “pagan” designation. This word is an imposed one, expressing a particular group’s efforts to exert their own power over the landscape and to shape their peers’ perceptions of it. In effect, even though some people used “pagan” to divest elements of the traditional landscape of its accumulated history and legitimacy,⁷⁶ there is no reason for historians or archaeologists to implicate themselves in that power struggle. In fact, there is every reason to stand outside it, for analyzing the Late Antique discourse on power through the lens of identity can provide helpful insights into Late Antique society, especially when examining specific texts and artifacts.⁷⁷

Mosaic depictions such as cups and fish at Ostia, for example, were once interpreted as proof of the town’s Christian residents. Today, those images have been shown to be more multivalent than once believed.⁷⁸ Like the fish platter served to Aeneas in the illuminated *Roman Vergil* and the cups that Dido summoned on her guests’ behalf, Ostian mosaics used similar generic symbols to convey an ethos of wealth and power.⁷⁹ These are images befitting the patrons who commissioned them. They say little, if anything, about the religious identities of the people in the house. An examination of two Ostian rings demonstrates the hazards of reading identity from material culture and opens up a new approach to Ostia’s Late Antique material culture.

Passing, covering, and identity management

On their faces, the bronze rings are etched with the Christian chi-rho sign (Figure 8). These date to the fourth or fifth century.⁸⁰ Are the objects really “Christian”?⁸¹ Many scholars and casual observers would say yes. There are sociological grounds on which to question that answer.

The period of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, during which Christianity advanced from an illegal practice to the official religion of the Roman Empire, was characterized by tremendous fluidity as the wider

⁷⁶ For the issue of power in landscapes, see Smith 2003.

⁷⁷ For social construction of identity in general, see Yoshino 2006 and Goffman 1963; for studies relevant to Late Antiquity, see Sandwell 2007; Frakes and Digeser 2006; and Miles 1999.

⁷⁸ Squarciapino 1979; see also Brenk 2003, 263–64.

⁷⁹ Weitzmann 1977, 57, pl. 13 (*Roman Vergil*).

⁸⁰ The rings are Mus. Ost. inv. 4134–35.

⁸¹ See Salzman 2002; see also Barnes 1995 and von Haehling 1978.

population took account of this spreading cultural phenomenon. Thus, whereas in the third century an open “Christian identity” could often lead to persecution, in the later centuries that same identity could promise social acceptance. Similarly, whereas in the third century followers of Rome’s traditional religions could undertake their acts of devotion without fear of consequence or reprisal, in later centuries imperial legislation would be written to stigmatize these people as “pagans” and “heretics.” It should be clear, as a result, that the study of Christianity’s acceptance is not to be gleaned from an analysis of fourth-century legislation. It is one that is more profitably investigated through a study of Rome’s social milieux.⁸²

Many scholars have begun to do just that, and a brief look at one topic – household conversions – will provide some illustrative context. Peter Brown has studied social factors like marriage and family relations among the Roman senatorial class to account, in part, for some of the overlooked ways in which Christianity spread throughout the western capital. Brown has pointed to the large presence of aristocratic Christian women among households with (ostensibly) non-Christian men and suggested it was the females of the family who had provided the impetus for conversion to “respectable Christianity” during the fourth century.

Anne Yarbrough modified this picture quite a bit, noting that the evidence for and characterization of these conversions is largely drawn from Jerome. Jerome may have used these examples of aristocratic women to construct and support his own image of a proper Christian ascetic. Yarbrough has suggested that it is highly unlikely that these women, all of whom had forfeited their substantial inheritances, became the paradigmatic model of conversion for their upper-class male family and friends.⁸³ Kate Cooper, more recently, has taken another approach. According to her, modern accounts have too often overlooked the ways in which the male authors used female examples to engage in a wider social debate about the merits of marriage, celibacy, and the locus of authority in the late Roman world.⁸⁴ These stories, she suggests, might tell us very little about actual conversions in late Roman homes.

⁸² Brown 1972, 164.

⁸³ Yarbrough 1976, 151–65.

⁸⁴ Cooper 1992, 155–64.



8. Set of rings from Ostia. Two with the Christogram in the lower row, center. Archivio Fotografico, Ostia Antica E27276.

As the tenor of this one irresolvable example demonstrates, late Roman households were never monolithic entities, embracing one religious identity to the exclusion of another. They were dynamic social spheres where diverse affiliations frequently coexisted alongside one another, sometimes within the same family tree.⁸⁵ The same can be said to be true of social relations at Late Antique Ostia, and that, in turn, affects the way we read the archaeological evidence.

Indeed, when one situates this heterogeneous social environment against the backdrop of the fourth-century legislation, an interesting social picture emerges. It follows that at least some part of Ostia's fourth-century population was, at one time or another, living with a corresponding "social stigma" simply by virtue of the social norms that were prevailing in that decade or day. If they were Christian, they most likely experienced this stigma at the beginning of the century. If they were followers of Rome's traditional religions, they no doubt experienced it at the end. This recognition has important implications for the study of Ostia's material culture because it makes even a small object like

⁸⁵ See Clark 1986.

the ring with the Christogram much more multivocal than it may first appear.

According to the sociologist Erving Goffman, in the face of a cultural environment that encourages “identity norms,” minorities often find various ways to manage the social stigma that differentiates them from the culture at large. For instance, a man or a woman can learn to create a social identity separate from that of the majority, simply by weighing whether “to display [the signs of his stigma] or not to display, to tell or not to tell, to let on or not to let on, and each in case, to whom, how, when, and where.”⁸⁶ Goffman identified this form of identity management as “passing.” Cultural signs, consequently, cannot be read uncritically as a source for reconstructing one’s “pure” social identity because we lack access to the motives of those who produced them.

Goffman’s work thus suggests that a straightforward interpretation of an artifact like the Ostian ring is impossible. For inasmuch as we lack any supplemental archaeological, sociological, or anthropological information to determine *why* its wearer has chosen to display a Christian symbol, we cannot even say that the Ostian ring *belonged* to a Christian. It is a marker of Christianity, yes; but what exactly is it saying and to whom? In one set of circumstances, it could be a sign of solidarity with other Christians. At another time, it might have reflected the owner’s occasional presence in a room, at a gathering or at a dinner perhaps, where it was socially beneficial to appear Christian.

The interpretative problems for us do not end at “passing,” however. Some minorities do willingly admit a social stigma to their peer group, oftentimes demonstrating a desire to embrace and display common characteristics of majority culture in order to make their own dissimilarity less obtrusive or more palatable to their social networks. Goffman called this form of identity management “covering.”⁸⁷

Kenji Yoshino has recently reprised this definition to describe some of the processes by which minority Americans or immigrants “tone down a disfavored identity to fit into the mainstream [since] being deemed mainstream is still often a necessity of social life.”⁸⁸ Yoshino provides a relevant illustration. For a dark-skinned Egyptian Muslim, one who has immigrated to the United States after September 11, 2001, to attend an

⁸⁶ Goffman 1963, 42 and 130.

⁸⁷ Goffman 1963, 93, 102–03.

⁸⁸ Yoshino 2006, ix and 170.

American university, the idea of “passing” as a straight white Christian from middle-class America would be nearly impossible. Still, he may feel anxious about his Muslim identity in the midst of his predominantly Christian peers. With a keen eye for cultural signs, however, he soon discovers that by displaying the Stars and Stripes on his dorm room door, instead of the flag of his home country, or by wearing a New York Yankees baseball cap as he walks across campus, he can downplay the “foreign” elements of his own background so that social acceptance is more forthcoming. On the soccer field or in the classroom, his new friends may still *know* that he is not an American citizen, but the power of the visual strategies that he has adopted may have, in part, softened the degree of difference between them.

The display of a chi-rho on a small Ostian ring or on any artifact from Late Antique Ostia thus comes to us refracted, not reflected, through this murky, often irrevocably lost field of social context, one riddled with pockmarks and covered in dust, all of which complicates the historian’s task. Clearly, the search for “authentic identity” in the realm of material culture is more complex than an easy dichotomy of terms might allow because identity is contingent on the irretrievable belief of the subject involved. Symbols stand to mean precisely the opposite of what they *could* mean.

Is the wearer a Christian? A self-identified “soldier of Christ” (*miles Christi*) ready to battle the host of those unwilling to convert?⁸⁹ Was his or hers even a willing conversion, or was it a coercive one, inspired by following the crowd rather than by depth of belief?⁹⁰ Is the ring itself an attempt to pass as Christian? Or is its wearer “covering” an alternate identity, downplaying his or her minority status for a group of friends already “in the know”? Considering the range of interpretative possibilities, I would suggest that labels like “pagan” or “Christian” – when assigned to a cultural artifact like a piece of jewelry, a poem, or an epitaph – obscure rather than elucidate the breadth of significance that even one small object can have in its specific environment. In fact, recent research on “religion,” including early Christianity, suggests it is hazardous to infer anything about personal belief from archaeological evidence.

⁸⁹ O’Donnell 1977, 165–68.

⁹⁰ MacMullen 1984, 86–101.

The final frontier: Defining “religion”

Ostia’s “religions” have long attracted scholarly interest, but today scholars face an important task: to define, or redefine, that very word. The issues surrounding this topic are complex, but they are not inconsequential, especially to the study of an age that witnessed widespread *religious* transformation. What exactly does that phrase mean?

One of the problems in using the term in a post-Enlightenment context is the implication that “religion” exists as a thing apart from other aspects of society. Perhaps as a way to counter this criticism, some scholars have advocated an approach that views ancient Mediterranean “religion” as “embedded” in society. This proposal has been well received because it allows us to see politics, culture, and society as a web. And yet, as one scholar has also now pointed out, even the notion of “embedded religion” perpetuates the idea that “religion” exists conceptually, in its own right, as something “out there,” distinct from the broader social and cultural world around it.⁹¹ I am sympathetic to both these positions. It is clear to me, for example, that a more properly theorized approach to “religion,” rooted in this social, cultural, and anthropological scholarship, will help shed significant new light on what we mean when we talk about Late Antique religious transformation – and possibly even change how we approach the topic. The following offers an illustration of what I mean.

There has always been an interest in trying to identify when the practices of ancient cults came to an end in the Christian world of Late Antiquity.⁹² A greater appreciation for how “religion” works, built on the anthropological model proposed by Clifford Geertz, however, makes this quest largely moot.⁹³ Geertz defined “religion” as

(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.⁹⁴

⁹¹ For embedded religion, see Beard et al. 1998; and also Insoll 2004. For a thoughtful critique, see now Nongbri 2008.

⁹² See, most recently, Cameron 2011.

⁹³ Ross Taylor’s monograph (1912) was contemporary with Georg Wissowa’s (1912) social and cultural analysis of religion in Rome, and it was the first of its kind to treat the subject of religion at Ostia.

⁹⁴ Geertz 1973, 90.

The important part of this definition is the fact that belief is not the primary focus of analysis. It is the cultural system of “signs and symbols,” those elements that engender “long-lasting moods and motivations” among individuals and communities, which provide a visible, *analyzable* gateway into how people structure their world – and how that worldview shapes social action and identity. The “signs and symbols” of any cultural system, in effect, are the very things that help reveal, to the outside observer, the manifold ways in which people perceive a “general order of existence.” Whether *we* perceive or accept that order as real is irrelevant. This fact does not deny that the nature of “belief” – from messy to irrecoverable, from clearly formulated to doctrinal – is often vital for how individuals and communities organize their world. We may not always have access to written sources that give full expression of that “belief,” but that alone does not make it an irrelevant feature of any historical age. In Geertz’s definition, “belief” can be as varied and diverse as the individual people, practitioners, thinkers, and theologians who participated in the cultural system of their day.

This model provides an instructive framework through which to view Late Antique Ostia. It diffuses unanswerable, oftentimes impolitic questions about the comparative value of religious “belief” during a pluralistic time,⁹⁵ and it does so by directing our attention to the ways in which men and women of Ostia’s diverse “religions” often shared a broader interest in Roman values. Social status, wealth, and patronage – these aspects of social life are well documented throughout the epigraphic and archaeological record.⁹⁶ By emphasizing the social and cultural interpretation of this evidence, relative *visibility* becomes an important means to weigh the social importance and acceptance of individual cults at any one point in time. An anthropological approach to “religion” provides a powerful lens with which to see and chart the processes of social change.

In the end, what types of worship were practiced at Ostia’s temples in Late Antiquity? When were the temples and sanctuaries closed? When did people stop sacrificing? Geertz’s model suggests that questions like these may not be the most helpful way of looking at the evidence. For trying to find the moment when one specific set of practices ceased, like

⁹⁵ Geertz’s definition has been critiqued in the years since he first proposed it. Brodd (2011, 35–47) gives a good, up-to-date survey of these points and lays out an argument for its continued use in ancient studies.

⁹⁶ Taylor 1912, 98.

sacrifice, precludes an attention to broader social and cultural forces – such as the construction of social memories, the management of identity, or the expression of wealth and patronage – which drove the engine of life in Late Antique Ostia.⁹⁷ These social phenomena stayed the same, even when the city's cults changed.

It is at the social and cultural level, I suggest, that the “religious transformation” of the town will come into sharper focus. It is time to examine the contours of that town.

⁹⁷ On Christian identity formation, see, for example, Lieu [2004](#) and Kahlos [2007](#).

The new urban landscape of Rome's ancient harbor

The twin towns of Rome's harbor environment, Ostia and Portus, flickered in the night like two lights, or eyes, to approaching sailors. Those, at least, are the words of a well-traveled government man, Cassiodorus, who lived in the sixth century CE.¹ It makes sense that a writer like him, who was born in Southern Italy, worked in Ravenna, and had spent time in Constantinople, among other cities, chose to describe an image of the shore seen from the vantage of the sea, just as Rutilius Namatianus had done nearly a century before. It is also clear that the image of the shore had imprinted itself on Cassiodorus long after he had left the coast. To him, Ostia and Portus remained "very distinguished cities."

Cassiodorus's text has long generated a host of questions about the urban image of Late Antique Ostia. What was its relationship to Portus in Late Antiquity? Is his characterization of the Roman shore – with two coequal partners – simply an expression of nostalgia for the glory of the imperial past? Or does it reflect an urban reality that scholars have somehow overlooked? In order to answer these questions, it is best to start by reviewing the world in which a man like Cassiodorus lived and worked.²

His was a world strangely different than the one Rutilius Namatianus had known. When Rutilius had left for Gaul, Rome had been under the control of the western emperor. By the late fifth century, the emperor's authority had been snatched away. Italy for the first time in a millennium

¹ "duo quippe Tiberini alvei meatus ornatissimas civitates tamquam duo lumina susceperunt, ne vacaret a gratia quod tantae urbi ministrabat expensas," Cass. *Var.* 7.9.2.

² For an introduction to the period through this author, see O'Donnell 1979a. For Ostrogothic Italy, see Amory 1997.

was again ruled by a king, Theoderic (493–526 CE). Theoderic did not merely “pass” among his subjects as an ersatz emperor. His unique position and title (*rex*) were openly acknowledged in contemporary media, and he was lauded as such in the written record.³ Accepting this new ruling order cannot have been easy for a culture whose literature preserved and articulated ambiguous memories of Rome’s earlier monarchic past. These memories and the literature of which they were a part may have even led to a certain amount of culture shock.⁴ Like Odoacer before him, Theoderic brought with him to Italy a new group of elites, a new style of dress, and even a new propensity for unique facial hair: the mustache. These signs of change are indisputable parts of the archaeological and numismatic record.⁵ Meanwhile, the Germanic people and the soldiers who marched across Italy, in particular, brought with them a new language.⁶

And yet for someone like Cassiodorus, born in Italy and holder of a series of offices that would not have seemed out of place during the High Empire – *quaestor* and *consul*, for example – a certain bureaucratic continuity with the imperial past also must have been striking. Senators went to their seats in the Colosseum. Some buildings throughout Rome and Ostia continued to benefit from an outpouring of government money.⁷ The Porta Marina Baths (4.10.1–2, see Map 1, near no. 3), located at the ancient seashore, testify to this period of largess.

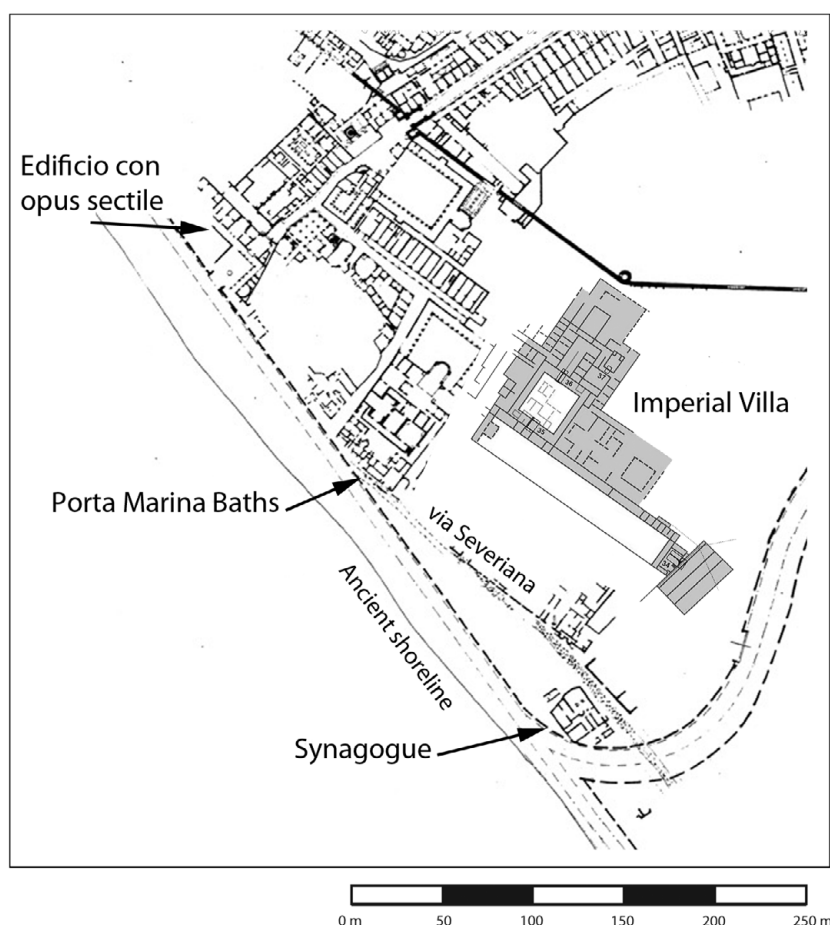
³ From Ravenna, 502 CE: “d(ominus) n(oster) rex Theodericus | civitati reddidit,” *AE* 1941, 94. For Theoderic’s reception in Rome, see the Anonymous Valesianus “pacem in urbis ecclesia ambulavit rex Theodericus Romam et occurrit beato Petro devotissimus ac si catholicus. cui papa Symmachus et cunctus senatus vel populus Romanus cum omni gaudio extra urbem occurrentes,” Anon. Val. 12.65).

⁴ For example, contrast Livy (2.1–11) on the murder of Tarquinius Superbus for the sake of *libertas* with Seneca on the benefit of a single ruler (Sen. *Clem.* 1.4). On the reception of these authors in Late Antiquity, see Cameron 2011, 400–05, 498–526.

⁵ Ward-Perkins 2005, 66–83. For social identity during this period, see Amory 1997, 13–42.

⁶ “ὁ Ρωμᾶϊος εἶχεν, ἄτερος δὲ τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ ἔφασκεν,” Procop. *Goth.* 6.1.11–19; “Βελισσαρίος . . . ἐνταῦθα τε ἦλθε καὶ Βέσσαν ἐκέλευε τῇ Γότθων φωνῇ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς ταυτῇ βαρβάροις,” id. 5.10.10. I have avoided calling these people “Ostrogoths” because I believe, following Heather (2005, 330–53), that Ostrogothic identity was in the process of being constructed during this time.

⁷ Note, however, that the office of praetorian prefect of the peninsula did not exist in the High Empire. For the Colosseum inscriptions, see *CIL* 6.1716 (484 CE) and Orlandi 2006. For brick stamps at Rome and Ostia dating to the sixth century, see *CIL* 15.1663–70 (Theoderic) and 74–75 (Athalaric). For Theoderic’s building program, see the introduction to the text of the Anonymous Valesianus (König 1997, 38–42).



9. Plan of the southern seashore. Modified from Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689, incorporating data from Martin et al. (2002, 262, fig. 3).

Restored during Theoderic's reign, with the brick stamps to prove it, they are a highly illustrative example with which to begin a survey of Ostia's new urban image (Figure 9) as it is known today. For aside from the Capitolium, the piers of the *frigidarium* at the Porta Marina Baths have been the only other feature of Ostia's archaeological landscape never to be lost to the naked eye over the course of two millennia (Figure 10).⁸ Consistently and majestically towering over the landscape, they did so when Ostia's ancient synagogue was discovered in 1961, just as they had towered over the sixth-century shore when Cassiodorus arrived by sea. Concern for their upkeep throughout Late Antiquity not only reflects

⁸ As seen, for example, in the plan by Pietro Holl from 1804.

the lasting appeal of the baths and bathing during this time; it also shows that the neighborhood along the shore remained one of the most visible, and thus one of the most powerful, venues for the display of urban benefaction.⁹ At least one source of water, brought from Ostia's aqueduct through the *castellum aquae* along the top of the old republican walls, continued to feed its pipes from its source near modern Acilia (Map 1, no. 17).¹⁰ That investment makes sense if we see it through Cassiodorus's eyes.

Ostia's front door had always been, first and foremost, the sea, and by Late Antiquity the Porta Marina bath complex was nothing less than the city's atrium. Today, traipsing through the Porta Romana (Map 1, no. 18), the modern entrance to the site, we miss something of that perspective and of the power that lay behind Cassiodorus's words. To him, the visible signs of the old city, renewed by King Theoderic and visible from land and sea, continued to imprint themselves regally on the Late Antique mind, even in the early sixth century.

This chapter sketches the contours of that city as archaeologists understand it today. Indeed, the urban image of Ostia has changed radically since Russell Meiggs last described it comprehensively in English although to date no monograph has attempted to synthesize the range of new discoveries. That information is still scattered in multiple languages among several articles and edited volumes.¹¹ Attributions of republican and imperial buildings once thought secure, however, have now been called into question, and new buildings themselves of the first- and second-century empire have been discovered through geophysical survey and excavation. A monograph on Late Antique Ostia cannot go forward without first reviewing some of these major developments and how they have begun to change our understanding of Roman Ostia.

This chapter is offered as a first step in that process. It publicizes several newly discovered, or newly understood, features of Ostia's landscape for a wider audience of archaeologists, historians, and scholars of ancient Rome. It is not intended to be a travelogue or even a comprehensive

⁹ For an architectural study of all the Ostian baths, see now Poccardi 2006b. For an analysis of Ostian baths and bathing in Late Antiquity, see DeLaine 2006.

¹⁰ See now Bukowiecki, Dessales, and Dubouloz 2008 and the earlier study by Scrinari and Ricciardi 1996.

¹¹ In general, see the following: Papers of the Netherlands Institute in Rome (*Meded* 58: 1999); Claridge and Zevi 1996; Descœudres 2001; and *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité* (*MÉFRA* 114: 2004).



10. The piers of the Porta Marina Baths (4.10.1–2), *frigidarium*. View facing west, toward the seashore. Present state. Photograph by Rabun Taylor.

survey of every building, apartment, bath, or house that once occupied a place from the republican period through the Late Empire. Nor is it a guide to the evolution of the urban image through specific points in time. Rather, like the example of the town's castrum discussed in [Chapter 1](#), each of these sites has been chosen because they formed a lasting and visible part of Ostia's urban fabric, a rich palimpsest by the later period. Together, they form a picture of a city layered with history and rich in details, all of which provide a necessary context for Part Two.

Ostia's "front door" continued

SHIP SHEDS, HOUSES, AND LATE ANTIQUE BATHS

Following the path of the Tiber from Rome, the river forks, presenting two paths. To the right is Portus; to the left, Ostia. The Tiber pours into the sea at both places. The development of the former harbor facility is well known; that of the latter, less so. Indeed, it is commonly forgotten that, for three centuries during the Late Republic, the inner harbor of the Tiber itself functioned as a center of shipping and maritime traffic. By the first and second centuries CE, that role had diminished, as the old infrastructure could not accommodate the quantity of grain and oil and animals and humans arriving at the river. The emperor Claudius

undertook the construction of a new harbor. Trajan expanded it in the second century. What happened at Ostia's own inner harbor after the construction of Portus was never the subject of sustained investigation until the 1990s, with a renewed interest in Ostia's "maritime façade" (see Map 1, no. 1).¹²

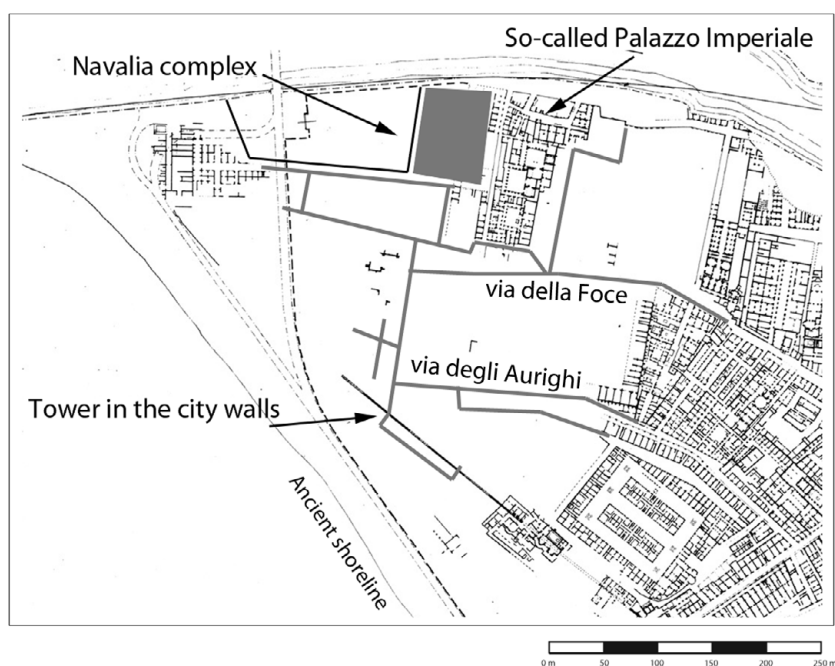
Today, the "loss" of Ostia's original inner harbor to the modern mind is not surprising. Rutilius Namatianus "reported" that the left branch of the Tiber was inaccessible – to him, at least – in the early fifth century.¹³ Sandbars seemed to have forbidden the ships. What Rutilius does not say is whether the sand prevented small skiffs and tugboats, or just the large merchant fleet, from navigating the river. Sandbars, after all, are only a hindrance if the hull of a ship is too big. The latter may have continued to dock at the Tiber's mouth of Ostia well beyond the period of Portus's development. Craft like these would have been useful for transporting smaller packages of goods to Rome or for overseeing security and logistics at the mouths of the Tiber. Recent geophysical and archaeological exploration near the ancient shoreline, where the Tiber once flowed out into the Mediterranean, has suggested that the inner harbor functioned precisely along these lines, at least through the second century CE, perhaps well beyond that time. This evidence is summarized next. Procopius, for example, informs us that the Tiber was navigable on both sides in the early sixth century, a detail that suggests that this part of Ostia played a much more important role in the Late Antique town than Rutilius Namatianus has led us to believe.¹⁴

Archaeological campaigns have revealed the architectural and topographical features of this area. Just to the east of the modern topographical feature known as the Tor Boacciana – the promontory where ancient Ostia's lighthouse is presumed to have stood – was located the basin of an inner harbor (Figure 11). This basin was set off from the Tiber, providing a shelter for ships from the sea and the currents of the river. Although its ancient borders cannot be entirely defined because of the changing geomorphology of the area, the harbor is still roughly discernible as a depression in the land. It seems to have measured approximately 200 meters across from east to west and 100 meters deep from the

¹² Quoting the title of Purcell 1996.

¹³ "tum demum ad naves gradior, qua fronte bicorni / dividiuus Tiberis desteriora secat. / laevus inaccessis fluvius vitatur arenis," Rut. Namat. 1.180–81.

¹⁴ "ναυσίτοπος τε ὁ Τίβερης ἀμφοτέρωθι μένει," Procop. *Goth.* 5.26.6.



11. Plan of the inner harbor at the mouth of the Tiber River. Modified from Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689, incorporating data from Martin et al. (2002, 259, fig. 12).

southern edge of the Tiber River. Along the east side of this inner harbor originally stood a building constructed of travertine blocks. Most of these blocks were robbed, perhaps in the early Middle Ages. One was found in a bed of sand, which showed considerable watermarks across its face, suggesting that it had once been at the water level of the ancient harbor. Excavation revealed the upper walls of an adjoining structure. These walls were built in a masonry style known as *opus mixtum*, roughly dated by the excavators to the second century CE, and consisted of a series of narrow rooms. At the time of their discovery, these rooms had been filled with sand, suggesting that they had once opened directly onto the harbor. Excavators concluded that the structure had been a series of ship sheds, or *navalia*, stretching along the southern and eastern faces of the inner harbor.¹⁵

The Tiber's silting has pushed the modern coastline approximately 3 kilometers to the west, but from republican through imperial times, the *navalia* were a prominent feature of Ostia's landscape. One inscription reveals that a local notable, Publius Lucilius Gamala, restored them

¹⁵ See Heinzlmann 2001a, 314–15, n. 3; and id. 2002, 225–33.

during the middle or late second century CE. The date of the architecture revealed in the recent excavations coincides nicely with this detail. Gamala's act of architectural beneficence, as well as the way he advertised it, demands additional context, however. Members of his family, including those of the exact same name, had undertaken acts of euergetism for centuries at Ostia, at least as far back as the mid-first century BCE.¹⁶ Gamala *iunior*, as the second-century CE notable is known today, followed in the footsteps of this legacy. Throughout his career he restored baths built by Antoninus Pius, donated weights and measures to the local macellum, repaired temples, and put on public games, according to the epitaph set up after his death.¹⁷

For a man as accomplished as he, funding the repairs to the local ship shed may seem to pale in comparable social prestige from our perspective. A glance at Gamala's epitaph, however, leads to exactly the opposite conclusion. There, among all the works he took credit for, Gamala named the man who had originally built, or at least commissioned, Ostia's first *navalia*: Lucius Coilius. The archaic spelling of the name Caelius evokes the bygone era of the Roman Republic.¹⁸ Thus, even in the second century, Gamala *iunior* recognized that the daily rhythms of life at Ostia had been intricately connected to the ship sheds for centuries, and it was important for his own age to communicate the memory of that historic foundation. Imperial Ostia was bound to the history of the republican-period town. The monuments of the present articulated that connection to the past.

The repair of the *navalia* in the middle to late second century confirms that the area of Ostia's inner harbor remained a vibrant one, economically, after the construction of Trajan's port. This point is significant because several *horrea* and a large market building, dated to the same period, have now also been discovered in the area (see Figure 11). According to Michael Heinzelmann, these may have served the import of more specialized luxury goods while Trajan's harbor handled the larger, mass-produced wares of the time.¹⁹ Whatever the precise function, it is clear

¹⁶ For the Gamala family, see Zevi and Humphrey 2004.

¹⁷ "idem navale a L. Coilio aedificatum | extru[e]ntibus fere collapsum | restituit," *CIL* 14.376, lines 26–28. For Antoninus Pius as a *terminus post quem*, see id. 19–20 ("idem thermas quas Divus Pius aedificaverat vi ignis consumptas refecit").

¹⁸ On the significance of the spelling, see Meiggs 1973, 494.

¹⁹ For the *horrea*, see Heinzelmann 2001a, 318–20.

that by the end of the second century, this neighborhood teemed with social, economic, and architectural significance that spanned several centuries of Ostian history. This social and cultural significance extended to the sacred realm, as well; for, as we will see in [Chapter 6](#), the *navalia* platform was the site of Ostia's iconic Temple of Castor and Pollux. By Late Antiquity, even the simple ship sheds at Ostia, whatever their precise operational state at that time, were a resilient *lieu de mémoire*, in the words of Pierre Nora. They were not easily erased from local minds and their perceptions of the landscape, whatever the reality behind Rutilius Namatianus's poetry. In these terms, the ship sheds marked a site in which "a residual sense of continuity remain[ed]" between past and present.²⁰

This fact in itself is not surprising. Rome's *navalia* had functioned in the same way for centuries, remaining electrically charged places long after events directly related to them had passed.²¹ At one time, the Roman *navalia* had held a fleet of Carthaginian ships, captured during one of the city's most historic wars – a memory of Roman military triumph that the writer Livy was eager to remember and perpetuate two centuries after the fact. Procopius later tells us that Romans in his time still preserved the remains of Aeneas's boat in the *navalia* in the middle of the city. *Navalia*, then, could become evocative symbols of the city's and the society's past.²² Whether Ostia, too, preserved any similar memory of Aeneas's arrival at the "Lavinian shores" is unknown, but scholars should not assume that the tangible history of the town's ship sheds was easily forgotten. The Gamala family tomb articulated the memory of that original construction well beyond the last family member buried there.²³

Members of the Late Antique city – not necessarily all of them, of course – formed part of the community that shared in these memories and communicated them to the next generation.²⁴ The late third-century workers who retrofitted a nearby defensive tower and gate with a recycled threshold no doubt knew something of the harbor's storied past. The

²⁰ On the ideas and concepts behind *lieux de mémoire*, not all of which are necessarily applicable here, see Nora [1996](#), 1–7.

²¹ For the location of Rome's *navalia*, see Cozza and Tucci [2006](#).

²² See Livy 8.14.12 and Proc. *BG* 8.22.7–16. For discussion, see Purcell [1996](#), 268.

²³ Scholars speculate on where the tomb was located; see the discussion in the next section.

²⁴ For the idea of "memory communities," see Alcock [2002](#), 15.

tower's placement, located just beyond the via degli Aurighi today, lies on a road that connects it to the *navalia*.²⁵ Late Antique pleasure-seekers and social networkers who frequented the nearby baths also participated in the site's celebrated past. Part of the bath complex known as the Palazzo Imperiale, just east of the *navalia*, was restored at approximately this time, the first half of the third century. There is every indication that the building remained in use for decades after that, as well, if not centuries, communicating its historic role to subsequent ages.²⁶ At least one set of residents, or property owners, shaped the memories of that area in Late Antiquity, too. Clodius Celsinus Adelphius and Faltonia Betitia Proba funded the construction of a small bath just along the *navalia*'s southern edge sometime in the mid- to late fourth century. A lead water pipe bears both their names. This object gives witness not only to a generic commitment to Late Antique public benefaction but also to a long-standing interest in the maintenance of the facilities surrounding Ostia's inner harbor, an act of munificence that takes on an added dimension when juxtaposed with the Gamala family's own centuries of earlier dedications.²⁷

An awareness of the role that the past plays in the present landscape is not academic. It broadens our appreciation for the social world of the Late Antique elite and nonelite alike. Faltonia Betitia Proba herself has been identified as the author of a Late Antique cento, a poem that recounted the life of Christ using quotations from Vergil, among other sources such as Jewish and Christian scripture. Her work testifies to the fact that at least some members of Late Antique society saw the past as a source to be engaged with, even during increasingly Christian times.²⁸ I suggest that the landscape of towns like Ostia, which contained visible traces of the first, second, and third centuries, was one force that helped to promote that desire for cultural continuity. The fact that the site of the inner harbor generated many kinds of these memories does not deny that the area did change. By the fourth century, at least one of the nearby

²⁵ Heinzelmänn 2001a, 320–21; and id. 2002, 225–33.

²⁶ Spurza 1999a, 137–39.

²⁷ Heinzelmänn 2001a, 322–27; see also the contribution by M. Cecere in Heinzelmänn 2001a, 325–28, as well as *PLRE I* “Proba 2” and “Celsinus 6.”

²⁸ Whether Proba or her granddaughter authored the poem is still a matter of dispute; see Sivan 1993; Shanzer 1994 (*PLRE* “Proba 3,” granddaughter); Green 1995 (*PLRE* “Proba 2”); and Clark 1986, 124–52. I do not wish to adjudicate these views here; see now Cameron 2011, 327–37.

second-century horrea had been transformed into a house,²⁹ but the history of Late Antique Ostia is not the history of Rutilius Namatianus any more than it is the limited testimony of one or two Late Antique buildings.

The history of Late Antique Ostia lies in the memories of people such as Clodius Celsinus or Faltonia Betitia Proba and in the memories of the anonymous men and women who lived, worked, and relaxed in the area of the inner harbor basin. For them – perhaps not for all – moments that took place in Ostia's history, far from their own times, remained powerful social memories. The multiplicity of these memories suggests that even something as gentle as the sound of the harbor waves may have taken people and borne them back “like boats against the current . . . ceaselessly into the past.”³⁰

A COLLEGIUM, A VILLA, A SYNAGOGUE, AND BATHS

The baths at the inner harbor and the baths of the so-called Palazzo Imperiale were just two of approximately twenty-six baths that remained in use at Ostia at least through the fourth century CE. Some of these were constructed in the High Empire, like the Baths of Neptune (2.4.2), first built by Antoninus Pius and then restored by Gamala *iunior* at the end of the second century.³¹ Some of them were constructed entirely anew in Late Antiquity (Figure 12). Janet DeLaine has placed the current count at twelve.³² The so-called Byzantine Baths (4.4.8), located south of the Forum, are one example. The Baths of Musiciolus (4.15.2) are another. This last structure is worth a second look because it is apparently located far outside the walls of the city, away from the center of town, an observation often made in conjunction with a much better-known building, Ostia's synagogue.

²⁹ “ipse triumphali redimitus arundine Thybris / Romuleis famulas usibus aptet aquas, / atque opulenta tibi placidis commercia ripis / devehat hinc ruris, subvehat inde maris. / pande, precor, gemino placatum Castore pontum,” Rut. Namat. 1.151–55.

³⁰ Fitzgerald 1992 (originally 1925), 189.

³¹ The Baths of Neptune, although they contracted significantly in the third century (Heres 1978), remained in use in the fourth century (id. 1979).

³² The following list is from DeLaine (2006, 339): baths of Musiciolus (4.15.2), baths south of the Baths of the Porta Marina (4.10.2), baths of the via della Foce (1.19.5), baths of the Philosopher (5.2.7), baths opposite the baths of the Porta Marina (4.9), baths of Perseus, baths E (on the via Severiana), baths B (on the via Severiana), baths of the House of the Dioscuri (3.9.1), baths in the horrea (3.17.1), and the baths near the navalia.

By Late Antiquity, the territory outside the gates of the old republican-period walls was characterized by a combination of tombs, houses, sacred spaces, and public places. An early imperial house, the *Domus Fulminata* (3.7.3–5), was located just outside the gate of the town. The tomb of the illustrious Gamala family most likely stood on an adjacent plot of land.³³ Nearby was the funerary monument (4.9.2) of yet another famous republican-period Ostian, C. Cartilius Poplicola, and across the street stood a sanctuary of the Bona Dea (4.8.3).³⁴ Further on, a large forum (4.8.1) was constructed in the second century.³⁵ The archaeological evidence from the sanctuary is too scanty to attempt a reconstruction of the life of the cult in Late Antiquity; but the surrounding structures – tombs, house, and open forum – demonstrate the accumulative nature of the urban aesthetic in this quarter outside the old walls. Indeed, as the ground level over time rose across the neighborhood during the High Empire, it is clear that many earlier structures were respected as part of this process.³⁶ The city was expanding and with it the territory that was connected to the urban center.

Excavation of the nearby structure known as the *Edificio con opus sectile* (3.7.8, see Figure 11) confirms that this quarter remained a thriving one in the later life of the town. The building today is only partially known because construction work stopped on it, for undetermined reasons, in the early fifth century. In its last phase, it comprised a series of rooms positioned around a central courtyard whose entrance was from the Decumanus Maximus to the east. The material found during the excavations has been some of the most spectacular from Ostia to date and has been well publicized.³⁷ These include a lavish *opus sectile* wall

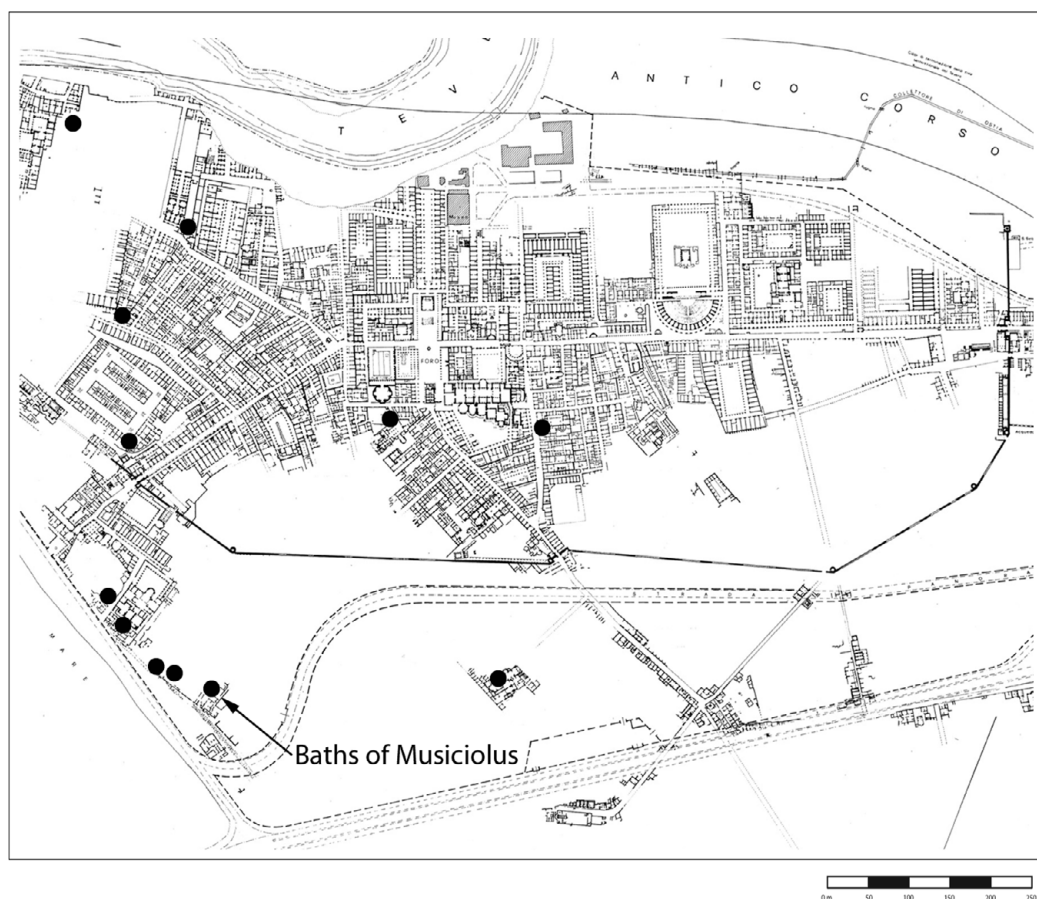
³³ See van der Meer, Stevens, and Stoeger 2005. For an alternate hypothesis, situating the Gamala mausoleum near the town's theater (at 5.11.6), see Coarelli 2004, 96–97. The former is the more preferable for its location outside the town walls in the vicinity of other republican-period tombs.

³⁴ See Calza 1942. For the location of a second cult site to the goddess at Ostia (5.10.2), see Squarciapino 1959 and now Falzone 2006. For the cult in general, see Brouwer 1989.

³⁵ “[C. Carti]li[o C(ai) f(ilio) Pop]licolae duoviru (*sic*) VIII | [censori III et uxori et] libereis postereisque eivs,” *CIL* 6.29754 [= *AE* 1961 no. 326; *AE* 1968 no. 82]; see also *SdO* 3.209–10, 221–28, fig. 71.

³⁶ See van der Meer et al. 2005.

³⁷ See *SdO* 6.67–69 (coins of 385–90 CE to 393 CE; no fifth-century numismatic evidence found); see also Guidobaldi 2001b. Regarding the expectation for Ostia's decline in Late Antiquity, note, also from *SdO* 6: “sembra improbabile che un edificio così sontuoso



12. Plan of Ostia showing the distribution of baths constructed during Late Antiquity. After Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689.

program – unearthed during campaigns of the late 1950s – which originally decorated several of the rooms of the Late Antique structure. One of these panels, often reprinted in secondary studies without any context, shows the portrait head of a bearded male surrounded by a halo. Slightly off-center within the panel, he is dressed in a tunic and gesturing with his right hand. A halo (nimbus) indicates his divine power. Previously interpreted as Christ, the portrait panel itself formed part of a larger composition, including lions and the image of a younger, beardless male, perhaps a student (Figure 13).³⁸ The composition as a whole and, specifically, the

possa essere stato concepito in Ostia dopo il IV secolo d.C. quando la città è già in piena decadenza.”

³⁸ *SdO* 6.65; see also Brenk 2001, 268.

limited space given the portrait panels, lends weight to a non-Christian interpretation of the figure and space.³⁹ One scholar has identified the bearded figure as a Late Antique philosopher–holy man.⁴⁰ This issue is not easily resolved, and exact identifications or attributions may not be necessary or desirable. Because of the larger composition of the wall panels and the presence of a beardless youth, however, I believe the older figure is a Late Antique philosopher–holy man and that the building is sign of a Late Antique collegium, perhaps associated with this person.

That said, I also believe the use of expensive *opus sectile* for the furnishing of the building and the development of similar luxurious spaces throughout the town, like houses, tell us much more about life in Late Antique Ostia than does the identity of the anonymous bearded figure and his youthful companion. The precise use of the structure, for example, has never been established. Giovanni Becatti thought the space resembled a collegial hall, or guild house. Recently, Federico Guidobaldi has suggested that the ground plan may be more indicative of a Late Antique house.⁴¹ The widespread use of marble revetment in Ostia's Late Antique homes is certainly a supporting factor for this hypothesis. Scholars, however, have been hesitant to accept signs of collegia, or guilds, throughout the Late Antique landscape largely for circumstantial reasons. With the rise of Portus, it has been conjectured, trades would have died out or moved elsewhere and traditional religious or philosophical schools, around which the guilds once gathered, would no longer have flourished.⁴² These assumptions, I propose, need not necessarily be true. A growing body of evidence suggests that the former idea of a mass exodus of workers, if it took place at all, did not necessarily portend the end of the guilds or the kinds of labor that played a part in their social identity. The social composition of the Late Antique town may not be as homogeneous as it once appeared. We will look at that evidence in the next section. I believe it provides counterbalancing circumstantial support for Becatti's thesis that the *opus sectile* building was a Late Antique collegium.

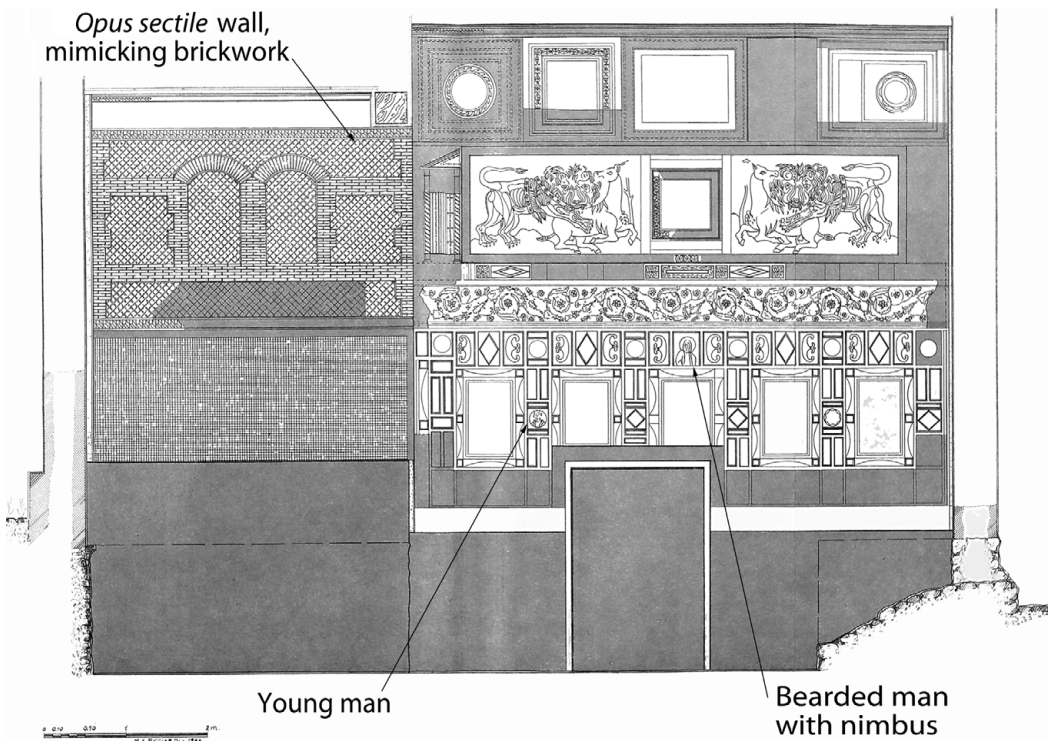
What is important here is to note the visibility of wealth along the southern shore. Recent geophysical survey and targeted excavation in

³⁹ Brenk 2003, 43–44.

⁴⁰ Zanker 1995, 315–20.

⁴¹ See *SdO* 6.161–78; see also Guidobaldi 2001b, 261 (house).

⁴² Steuernagel 2004, 110–19; see also Bollmann 1998, 174–77.



13. *Opus sectile* wall from the Late Antique building outside the Porta Marina. After *SdO* 6, tav. lxxxviii, fig. 1.

the tawny fields nearby have provided some context for this evidence and suggest that it was not a unique feature beyond the old republican walls. Several buildings in this “neighborhood,” the Porta Marina quarter, were excavated in the 1980s, and the subsurface remains of others were discovered in recent survey campaigns. These excavations have now changed the picture of the territory beyond the walls as it was once understood: from an isolated one of scattered buildings to an area of concentrated wealth and urban display no different than what we observe on the other side of the city gate.

The first set of structures to contribute to this new characterization of the southern shore was the Baths of Musiciolus, a boutique set of baths located across the street, to the northeast, from the synagogue. The entrance to the baths was located on the coastal highway road, the via Severiana (see Map 1, no. 5).⁴³ This building was excavated by Carlo Pavolini in the 1980s, and a new study of the remaining architecture

⁴³ Pavolini 1980; see now Poccardi 2006a and 2006b.

was recently undertaken by Grégoire Poccardi in the 2000s. Today, the baths are known by the name of an athlete, Musiciolus, whose portrait once figured prominently in a polychrome floor mosaic in the *caldarium*. Unfortunately, that mosaic was stolen soon after it was exposed. From photographs of it at the time of excavations, we know that Musiciolus was one of five athletes figured in the mosaic, which was organized into panels.⁴⁴ Each of these panels featured a different athlete's portrait bust and name, or nickname. Four of these are youthful looking and bare chested: Musiciolus, Ursus, Faustus, and Luxurius. The fifth, Pascentius, wears a gray beard and cloak and is, most likely, an umpire or a trainer. Elite Roman writers of the Early Empire may have expressed reservation or outright disdain for the place of Greek athletic contests in Roman society, but these mosaics and others throughout Ostia offer a more balanced view.⁴⁵ The mosaic itself has been dated to the fourth century. However, if the evidence from Ostia's other baths is any indication – such as the sixth-century interventions at the Porta Marina Baths or fifth-century construction of the so-called Byzantine Baths near the Forum – this complex, too, may have been in operation for a century or more after the mosaics were installed. That is a date range consistent with one phase of architectural interventions at the synagogue, whose history and social significance will be more thoroughly addressed in Part Two of this book.⁴⁶

The Baths of Musiciolus themselves were located within 50 meters of an enormous seaside villa (Map 1, no. 4), a second topographical feature of the southern shore that has changed our understanding of this quarter considerably. Scholars have long known from material and textual evidence that the western coast of Italy, especially between Rome and Naples, was a popular stretch of real estate in antiquity, especially for elites. Several prominent Romans, including Pliny the Younger, either sojourned at or owned property in the Laurentian territory, the land stretching south from Ostia.⁴⁷ The outline of this Ostian villa, however, only first became visible, like lines drawn in the sand, in an aerial photo

⁴⁴ See Squarciapino 1985–86.

⁴⁵ See Thuillier 1996 and Newby 2002, 177–79, with discussion of textual sources.

⁴⁶ See Squarciapino 2001.

⁴⁷ For an introduction to the archaeological evidence from the villa della Palombara (so-called Villa of Pliny) and the imperial villa at Castel Porziano, see Pavolini 2006, 253–58. For textual evidence of Pliny the Younger's villa in the Laurentian territory, south of Ostia, see Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.

of the open field taken in 1985. It thus formed part of that elite chain of coastal residences, and the status of its owners no doubt increased the social standing of the neighborhood.

A team of researchers, led by Michael Heinzelmann, conducted a geo-physical survey and a limited excavation of this villa in the early twenty-first century. The residence originally consisted of a series of entrance rooms at the north; at least one dining room in the northeast; a masonry-built peristyle with windows to the south; and an oblong garden stadium, measuring approximately 125 meters long by 20 meters wide, that stretched out along the coast. Ceramic material has suggested that it was constructed in the late first century, probably between 80 CE and 100 CE. Brick stamps found in situ attest that it was modified during the mid-second century (dated 138 CE) and again at the end of the second century or the start of the third (dated 198–203 CE).⁴⁸

By the start of the fourth century, however, the ground level in at least one area of the villa, the southern peristyle, was raised and a new living space installed. On the basis of the presence of walls constructed in *opus vittatum*, its construction has been roughly dated to the fourth century. Here, however, I would suggest some caution because masonry techniques at Ostia once thought characteristic of a particular period have been found in use centuries after their purported heyday.⁴⁹ Moreover, the precise motives for this intervention are still not clear. They may have marked a change in ownership and a radical transformation of the area, or they may be the sign of an elaborate renovation, undertaken by the owners themselves. At present we do not know because the full top plan of the later, superimposed structure is unknown.⁵⁰ Ceramic material suggests that it remained in use at least through the start of the fifth century.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Heinzelmann 2002.

⁴⁹ Also called *opus listatum* (Heinzelmann 2002, 235). For later uses of *opus reticulatum*, see van Dalen 1999. The crude *opus vittatum* is no exception; see Paroli 1993, 164–70.

⁵⁰ Although it is true that the excavators have offered a tentative ground plan of the later building, on the basis of data gathered through magnetometry, the reliability of some of this data has been called into question. In at least one plot of the surveyed land, directly across the via Severiana from the Baths of Musiciolus, excavation of a two-meter trench in that area revealed no subsurface architecture; see White et al. 2011b. Note similar findings in Pannuzi 2008, 264 (no confirmation of an extra-urban road hypothesized by survey results).

⁵¹ See Heinzelmann 2002, 233–36.

Who lived here? We cannot say. No stamped water pipe has yet been found that might hint at the identity of the owner. The similarity of the garden stadium to the garden hippodrome of the imperial palace on the Palatine, however, makes an attribution to an elite Roman, if not a member of the imperial house, almost certain.⁵² Epigraphic evidence attests to an imperial palace at Ostia although no site has ever been conclusively identified as such,⁵³ and the villa alone does share many formal similarities with the Palatine palace. The latter consisted of a series of entry halls, peristyle courtyards, and living quarters at the rear of the property, just like at the Ostian villa. Excavations also suggest it was an equally lavish property and probably had its own private water supply. At the eastern end of the garden was a large, three-aisled cistern. Constructed at an oblique angle to the stadium, this cistern probably collected water for the villa and for the Baths of Musiciolus. On its western side, facing back toward the residence, was located a series of rooms whose central one was distinguished by an apse. The room was paved with a black and white geometric mosaic floor; and the walls, preserved at a height of approximately 95 centimeters, were once painted with a garden theme. Yellow and green plants sprout in the panels at the level of the floor, like ferns, on a red background. Above, broad fields of yellow were separated by bands of blue, each measuring 30 centimeters wide. Tendril plants dangle against the open yellow panels.⁵⁴ This room most likely functioned as a dining room. Situated here along the shore, it would have afforded its owners and their guests a most pleasurable experience within sight of the sea. Whoever its owner, this property demands further study.⁵⁵

⁵² *LTUR* 4.416–17, figs. 6–7, with the Late Antique plan of the palace (418, fig. 8).

⁵³ As Spurza has documented (1999a, 129), the name Palazzo Imperiale that was bestowed on the large multipurpose bath complex near the harbor was “acquired by oral tradition in the nineteenth century . . . ; the [excavators] never referred to it in print as such.” The building is not the site of an imperial palace. Commodus granted permission to the followers of Mithras to congregate in an area of the Ostian palace: “C. Valerius Heracles pat[e]r e[t] an[tis]tes dei iu[b]enis incompacti So[l]is invicti Mithra[e] | [c]ryptam palati concessa[m] sibi a M. Aurelio —” *CIL* 14.66. Perhaps the architectural intervention was the sign of a social transformation. For a model, see White 1997a, 1.26–59. Constantine installed a three-aisled church within the walls of the Sessorian palace in the fourth century; see “Sessorium” in *LTUR* 4.306.

⁵⁴ For an analysis of the paintings, see the contribution by S. Mols in Heinzelmann 2002, 236–39.

⁵⁵ It is important to note that the garden stadium is too narrow to be a circus. No such structure has yet been found at Ostia even though mosaics suggest the presence of one in the surrounding territory. Charioteers astride horses appear in a black and white

In sum, the area outside the Porta Marina was not an isolated stretch of land along the southern shores of the inner harbor. With multiple baths, residences of varying sizes, at least one converted warehouse, a possible collegium, and an active water supply from the aqueduct and a neighborhood cistern, the territory beyond the Porta Marina gate was no less urban than anything inside the walls – all of which will change how we think about Ostia's Jewish community in Part Two.

The city center

For scholars of the High Empire, Ostia has long been the city of stately tall apartment houses, affording a glimpse of Roman daily life not often seen in other excavated cities. Ostia's apartments, like the famous Casa di Diana (1.3.3–4) have become paradigmatic sites for exploring the life of tradesmen and families who lived and worked in an urban setting, like Rome, where vivid examples of “ordinary” domestic architecture are few.⁵⁶ Late Antique Ostia, by contrast, has in the past half century become known as Rome's seaside luxury resort, a place where the urban infrastructure of the High Empire gave way, often literally, to elite city domus.⁵⁷ These instances of elite living represent both subtle and radical changes to the neighborhoods where they were situated. In some of these cases, adjoining walls were knocked down, city passages were blocked, and properties were combined to transform Ostia's High Empire city blocks into the Late Antique spaces scholars know today.

With their installation in the fabric of the city and with the rise of the shipping trade at Portus, these houses were thought to have signaled the disappearance of Ostia's once-vibrant group of nonelite residents and laborers, the voice of ordinary Romans. Recent research has suggested that we take a more nuanced view of residential patterns and social demographics in the Late Antique city.

mosaic found at the so-called Palazzo Imperiale (Scrinari 1988), and the games of Castor and Pollux at Ostia (*ludi Castorum*) may also have involved chariot races. A late second-century or early third-century inscription calls the games *certamina*, and the association of these “contests” with Castor and Pollux strongly suggests horse races; see Meiggs 1973, 344 and 427. I look forward to organizing a campaign to explore this issue.

⁵⁶ See Packer 1971. For the early second-century apartments at the base of the Capitoline, see Claridge 1998, 232–34; and at S. Giovanni e Paolo, *ibid.* 313–17; and underneath S. Anastasia, *ibid.* 261–62.

⁵⁷ Pavolini 1986a, 255; and *id.* 1986b, 239.

ELITE LIVING BEFORE LATE ANTIQUITY

The first step is to recognize that lavish elite residences had always formed part of Ostia's "working-class" city, well before Late Antiquity, at least back to the time of the Late Republic. According to one recent count, fifteen such elite residences have been identified at Ostia, built during the first two centuries BCE. The earliest of these has been dated to the second half of the first century BCE.⁵⁸ Although the remains from these houses are often fragmentary, recent excavations have brought to light an additional house whose form, decoration, and subsequent expansion in its urban setting have now been well documented. This house has proved particularly valuable for tracing the continuities that could preserve an elite family's ownership of land in Ostia from the Late Republican period through the beginning of the third century CE. Named the Domus of the Bucrania because of the depiction of ox skulls, or *bucrania*, on its painted plaster walls, it has been dated to the late first century BCE.⁵⁹

The house was recently discovered beneath the so-called Schola di Traiano (Map 1, no. 7), a building on the western Decumanus thought to have been a mid-second-century collegial hall associated with the emperor Trajan (4.5.15). A second, more elaborate residence, distinguished by a peristyle courtyard, was later built in the same area (4.5.16) sometime during the first or second century CE. Constructed at a level of a meter and half above the House of the Bucrania, this residence was later incorporated into the Schola di Traiano.⁶⁰ During excavation of its courtyard, a lead fistula was discovered that revealed the name of the property owner, Gaius Fabius Agrippinus, consul in 148 CE.⁶¹ His ancestor, Gaius Fabius Agrippa, had held a series of distinguished offices at Ostia during the Julio-Claudian period.⁶² Either this man, or another descendant by the same name, had been a colleague of one of Ostia's most notable men, Gaius Cartilius Poplicola, who lived at the end of the first century BCE.⁶³

⁵⁸ The house at 4.5.7–9; see the discussion by Bakker 1994, 21–43, no. 27.

⁵⁹ Bocherens and Zevi 2007, 257; see also Perrier 2007 and id. 2003.

⁶⁰ Bocherens and Zevi 2007, 266; see also Bocherens 2007.

⁶¹ Bocherens and Zevi 2007, 258, fig. 1.

⁶² "praetori sacris Volka[ni faciundis] | dec(urionum) decr(eto) decurio[ni adlecto] | aedili II [viro] – " *CIL* 14.349, lines 5–7.

⁶³ *CIL* 14.4134; for discussion, see Meiggs 1973, 1999; and also Bocherens and Zevi 2007, 265–66, with further epigraphic evidence for the *gens Fabia*. On the Cartilii, see the further discussion in Chapter 5.

The discovery of a fistula with Gaius Fabius Agrippinus's name – pertaining to a lavish second-century house that itself had replaced the site of a similarly wealthy Late Republican residence – has now led excavators to conclude that the two houses most likely belonged to the same family and that each attests to the rising political fortunes of the family members living in them at the time. If true, and I believe that it is, this hypothesis has important ramifications for our understanding of the circumstances that led to the transformation of the site into a collegial hall.

According to one scenario, for example, the house may have been confiscated from the Fabii family before it was transformed into a collegial space. The last known member of the Fabii Agrippini family carried the same name as that of his predecessor the consul, Gaius Fabius Agrippinus. This Fabius Agrippinus served as legate to the city of Bonn in 211–12 CE, was a member of the *Fratres Arvales* in 214 CE, and finished his career as governor of Syria in 218–19 CE before being assassinated on the order of the emperor Elagabalus.⁶⁴ As retribution for his allegiance to Elagabalus's political rival, Macrinus, Fabius Agrippinus's family's property may have been confiscated at that time.⁶⁵ Although it is only conjecture, this set of events provides some circumstantial evidence to suggest that the building's transformation into a collegium may date to the first quarter of the third century, not the middle of the second century as traditionally supposed. The reevaluation of material on-site supports this new, later dating for the collegium.⁶⁶

I have some mild reservations about the Fabius hypothesis, which tries to identify architectural changes with one specific moment of history, calibrated at a very fine chronological scale, using evidence from an archaeological record that often cannot speak beyond a quarter or half century of time. An alternate interpretation – although entirely without support at present – would suggest that the fortunes of the property owner are unrelated to the epigraphic evidence adduced from elsewhere and that the Agrippinus family who owned the house became the patrons

⁶⁴ See “Fabius Agrippinus” in *PIR* 3 p. 95–96 (no. 19: *praeses Syria*, 218–19 CE) and id. p. 96 (n. 20, consul 148 CE).

⁶⁵ For this hypothesis, see Bocherens and Zevi 2007, 269–70.

⁶⁶ For the traditional dating, see *SdO* 1.146. For the revised dating, see Bocherens and Zevi 2007, 269, n. 44. For a Severan date assigned to the extant mosaics, see *SdO* 4.199.

of the later guild.⁶⁷ I am inclined to suspect this alternate reading of the evidence.

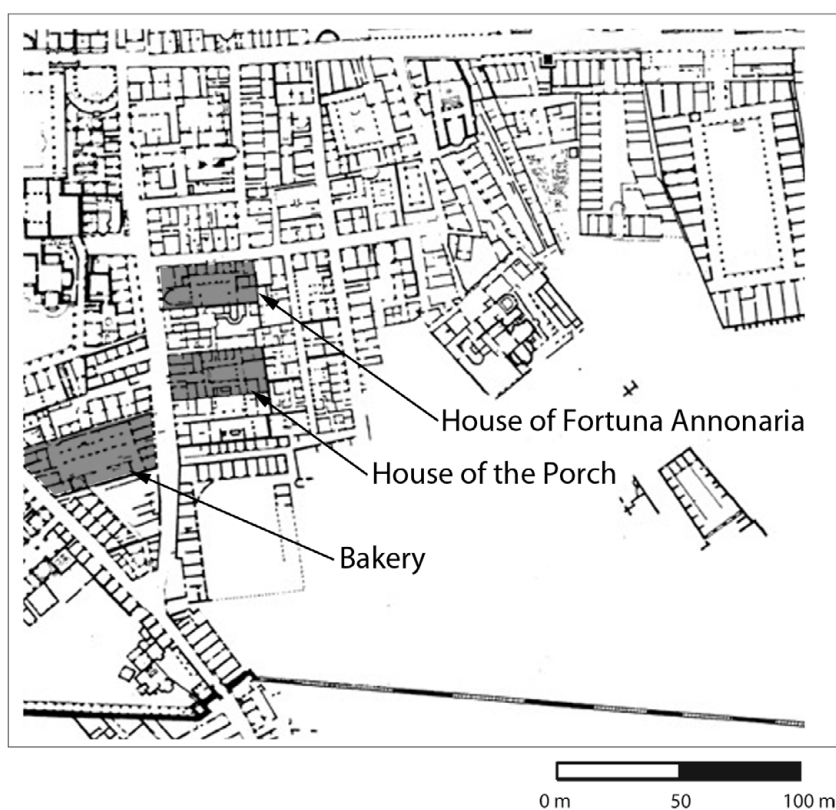
Whichever scenario happens to be true, it is clear that the construction of elite residences in Late Antique Ostia was not a phenomenon unique to the Late Antique town. These later houses formed part of a much longer tradition of upper-class concern for lavish living spaces. That evidence alone suggests that the modern scholarly paradigm of seeing daily life in Roman Ostia through the lens of nonelite apartment houses is unbalanced, as is the corollary custom of seeing Late Antique Ostia as a wealthy seaside resort. This tradition of wealthy living stretched backward into the republican period and forward into the first decades of the third century, providing an important bridge into the town's Late Antique transformations. The residents of Ostia's Late Antique were not social pioneers. They were continuing an earlier pattern of patronage, demonstrating that the enactment of social ritual remained a central role in elite self-presentation, just as it had for centuries.⁶⁸

Moreover, now that the Schola di Traiano has been dated to the early third century, I believe that it provides a window onto a much more diverse economic environment than heretofore supposed to have existed in Late Antique Ostia. The guildhall itself was the product of a significant amount of wealth or patronage, and the architectural investments there suggest that life at the old harbor town did not necessarily see the disappearance of merchants and laborers that scholars have long assumed were characteristic of the third century. This evidence supports Becatti's suggestion that the *opus sectile* building at the Porta Marina functioned as a Late Antique collegium. Both these spaces now raise tantalizing questions about the social and economic backgrounds of the people who lived and worked in later Ostia, a topic requiring much further study.⁶⁹ At this point, I believe it is safe to suggest that Late Antique merchant groups and the guilds to which they belonged had more access to wealth than we have assumed and that the wealthy individuals of the Late Antique town were not all members of the senatorial elite. The persistence of working-class residential spaces, such as apartments and small homes, throughout the city also suggests a much more differentiated view of Late Antique life.

⁶⁷ Consistent with White 1997a.

⁶⁸ See Tione 1999, Ellis 1991, Hirschfeld 1999, Guidobaldi 1986 and 2001b, S. Hansen 1997, Muntasser 2003, and Bowes 2010.

⁶⁹ See now Gering 2010.



14. Plan of the houses at insula 5.2 and their environs. Modified from Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689.

THE APARTMENTS

One city block (5.2; see Map 1, the area of no. 11) sheds considerable light on these issues. This block (Figure 14) has been the object of much Late Antique scholarly interest because it was the site of the massive *Domus della Fortuna Annonaria* (5.2.8), a Late Antique house whose latest architectural features date to the sixth century. Among its finds was an impressive collection of statuary, including figures of Apollo and Diana.⁷⁰ A study of the house's relation to the block as a whole, first published in 1985, can now be seen as confirming some of the general propositions advanced in the last section of this chapter.⁷¹

At the date of its final large-scale renovations, dated to the end of the fourth century, the block at 5.2 contained the following: two large houses

⁷⁰ Hannestad 1994, 105–09.

⁷¹ Boersma 1985, 221–28. The bakery is discussed in more detail in the next section.

with residential space on the upper floors; a bath complex; shops and workspaces distinguished by basins and benches, located on all four sides of the block; and an apartment complex surrounding an inner courtyard, built to a height of three stories. A bakery was located just across the street to the west (1.13.4). Masonry analysis suggests that many units within the insula – baths, a bar, and at least two houses – were repaired in the fifth century.⁷² Several rooms within one house, the House of Fortuna Annonaria (5.2.8), were also repaired in the early sixth century, according to one study of the masonry.⁷³ Thus, in this one neighborhood of town, throughout Late Antiquity, there were domestic spaces befitting different social-economic status levels, multipurpose spaces for the commercial and/or industrial pursuits of the nonelite classes, and public places such as baths for local gatherings.

Although much work still needs to be done to elaborate on this picture, the evidence available at present suggests that life in Late Antique Ostia was, indeed, more socioeconomically diverse than once thought. The city block at 3.9, an area of town known as the Garden Houses and located in the northwest region of town (Map 1, no. 2), provides additional support for these conclusions. Axel Gering has shown that many of the apartments on site, although leveled by a late third-century earthquake, were rebuilt on a smaller scale shortly thereafter. Some residences and shops remained in use there through the fifth century.⁷⁴

A GLIMPSE AT THE LATE ANTIQUE ECONOMY

The architectural analysis of a block like 5.2 raises interesting socio-economic questions: What trades or commerce were available to keep nonelite residents employed during the later periods of life at Ostia? What did the people who lived in these upper floors, or smaller ground-level apartment houses, do for a living during a time when the economic engine of the town was supposed to have migrated to the north? If they could not feed their families or themselves, did they stay at Ostia, or did they follow the jobs elsewhere? These are intriguing questions, not all of which have been answered yet.

⁷² Houses: the House of the Fortuna Annonaria (5.2.8) and the Domus del Protiro (5.2.4–5); baths: the Baths of the Philosopher (5.2.6–7); for the bar, located in Room 2 of the Domus del Protiro, see Boersma 1985, 226.

⁷³ Heres 1982–83, 180, 542–48.

⁷⁴ See Gering 2002 and id. 2010.

One area of research that has been well studied is ceramic deposits and imports. Archer Martin's analysis of amphorae from Late Antique deposits, unearthed in recent excavations, suggests that economic life in the Late Antique town was much different from previously suspected. Early imperial Ostia, for example, imported most of its wine from Gaul and Spain. By the period 280–350 CE, however, the city imported 64 percent of its wine from the eastern Mediterranean markets centered largely on the Aegean and Black Sea. A substantial number of oil and fish sauce amphorae, nearly 50 percent, attests to origins in North Africa. By 350–475 CE, these percentages showed no signs of abating and were still strong. Even the geographic origin of the wine imports during this time was more varied than the previous one: 55 percent of the imports during this time came from the area of the Levant, and the percentage of North African oil and fish sauce amphorae skyrocketed to 91 percent of all imports. These observations are based on the analysis of more than 4,000 sherds from Late Antique contexts.⁷⁵ They suggest the picture of a vibrant import economy during the third through fifth centuries, one whose size was roughly commensurate with earlier periods even as the geographic distribution of imports changed.

Recent research on the town's bakeries, as well as the use of at least one large *horreum*, or warehouse, also suggests much more continuity with the economic rhythms of daily life at Ostia than previously thought, particularly concerning grain, trade, and shipping. The Horrea of Hortensius (5.12.1) was renovated in the mid-third century, with slight modifications to its architectural layout again in the fourth and fifth centuries (Map 1, no. 15).⁷⁶ Although this same period witnessed the adaptation of horrea into other uses, such as the horreum near the inner harbor that was transformed into a house, I believe that the attention bestowed on the exterior of the Horrea of Hortensius in the third century – and the

⁷⁵ Martin 2008, 109–11. For earlier studies of the economy, see Paroli 1993 and Pavolini 1985.

⁷⁶ Bakker 1994, 56–64, no. 17. For a discussion of the masonry, see Heres 1982–83, 562–65, no. 84. Some scholars (Bakker 2010) have debated whether the complex had fallen out of use by the fifth century on the basis of (a) the construction of a small apse in *opus vittatum* built on the east side of the front porch and (b) the creation of a wall in *opus vittatum* across one quarter of the facade. Aside from the fact that the masonry is extremely difficult to date, the presence of an apse out front should not dissuade us from thinking the building had fallen out of use; and the erection of a wall against the facade says nothing about the functioning of the storage area itself.

lack of any evidence for a radical interior transformation – suggests that grain was still imported and stored there in Late Antiquity. Legislation preserved in the *Theodosian Code* strongly supports that view. In a decree sent out on April 12, 398 CE, by Arcadius and Honorius from Milan to the praetorian prefect of Italy, Flavius Mallius Theodorus, the emperors expressed their desire that the price of “Ostian bread” be lowered by one *nummus*. This decree forbade anyone from raising the price.⁷⁷ Scholars have often debated what exactly might have made this bread “Ostian,” but I agree with Clyde Pharr, who first proposed the simplest explanation of all: This bread was made from grain that arrived at the harbor, and it was baked at Ostia.⁷⁸

Continued restoration of at least some bakeries during this time supports this position. It is true that some, such as the Caseggiato dei Molini located next to the House of Diana (1.3.1, see Map 1, north of no. 10), succumbed to fire or earthquake at the end of the third century and were never rebuilt. The latest coin identified from the remains of the hoard among this rubble has been dated to the reign of Probus (276–82 CE), making the last two decades of the third century the earliest *terminus post quem* for the destruction of the building.⁷⁹ Others, like the bakery at 1.13.4, were restored well into the early fifth century and may have lasted beyond that.⁸⁰ This latter example is particularly appropriate here because it is located directly to the west of city block 5.2 (see Figure 14). In fact, by the fourth century, the bakery at 1.13.4 was not only the

⁷⁷ “Imp. Arcadius et Honorius AA. Theodoro praefecto praetorio: panem ostiensem adque fiscalem uno nummo distrahi volumus. sancimus autem, ut nullus per sacrum rescriptum audeat pretium ampliari; qui si obtulerit supplicationem, duarum librarum auri multa ferietur. dat. prid. id. april. Mediolano Honorio a. IIII et Eutychiano cons.,” *CTh* 14.19.1.

⁷⁸ *CTh* 14.19.1 (420, n. 1); also advanced by Meiggs 1973, 274. Bakker and Tengström reject Meiggs’s idea that the bread was baked in Ostia and distributed in Rome. Tengström (1974, 96–98), relying on a passage in Philostratus’s *Life of Apollonius*, rejected the idea because the trip upstream was said to have taken three days (VA 7.16). Bakker doubts that Philostratus’s estimate is accurate but concludes that “the lapse of time from oven to consumer would be considerable, and the bread would not be fresh when eaten (1994, 141). Herz (1988, 171) suggests that Ostian bread was baked in Rome by people who owned land at the old harbor.

⁷⁹ Only twenty-one of the thirty-eight coins from the hoard were ever securely identified at the time; see the discussion at Bakker 1999, 16–33. A new study is warranted.

⁸⁰ Consider also the Caseggiato delle Fornaci, whose latest architectural renovations date to the fourth century; and the Caseggiato della Cisterna, which functioned through the mid-fourth century. For the former, see Bakker 1999, 80–89; for the latter, see Gering 2004, 334–42.

largest of Ostia's bakeries, measuring 1,525 square meters; it was also, at that time, the oldest one in town.⁸¹ Thus, just like the inner harbor, this bakery may have been a vivid *lieu de mémoire*, particularly for those whose families had watched the neighborhood change around it. Even as Ostia changed, the comforting smell of freshly baked bread continued to waft through the streets.

This image is meant not to be melodramatic but useful and evocative. A functioning bakery demands an infrastructure of shop workers, heavy lifters, and merchants to manage and steer the grain to and from its storage sheds. From there, laborers and wagons were required to deliver it to the bakery, where staff workers, bakers, and proprietors might oversee its processing. The nodes in this well-heeled workflow may not have been as widespread or visible in Late Antique Ostia as they were in the High Empire, but the restoration of Ostia's bakeries suggests that many of these traces of old city life were still there – along with all the middle managers and workers who formed the supply chain. It is also not entirely unreasonable to think that the very people who depended on free and subsidized food were living, or lingering, in the area, too.⁸² Neighborhood elites no doubt saw this complex urban reality all around them. By Late Antiquity, then, Ostia itself may have been a microcosm, or mirror, of two capitals, not just one – Rome and Constantinople alike – where free and reduced-price grain was regularly handed out to the populace.

CIVIC SPACES

The civic landscape that these people traversed evoked the grandeur of urban living.

In fact, a new study of Ostia's Late Antique urban spaces – the roads and thoroughfares where its town's diverse residents crossed paths on a daily basis – reveals that the public face of the city in the third through fifth century was a proud one of marble-clad promenades and colonnades and newly designed spacious urban plazas with public fountains.⁸³ These newly expanded plazas ranged from the Piazzalle della Vittoria, near the old Porta Roman gate (Map 1, no. 18), to the Bivio del Castro (1.14.1)

⁸¹ Bakker 1999, 61–79.

⁸² See Sirks 1991, 302–60; and Rickman 1980, 198–209.

⁸³ Gering 2004, 314–18 (Piazzalle della Vittoria), 318–21 (marble-revetted promenade down the Decumanus Maximus).

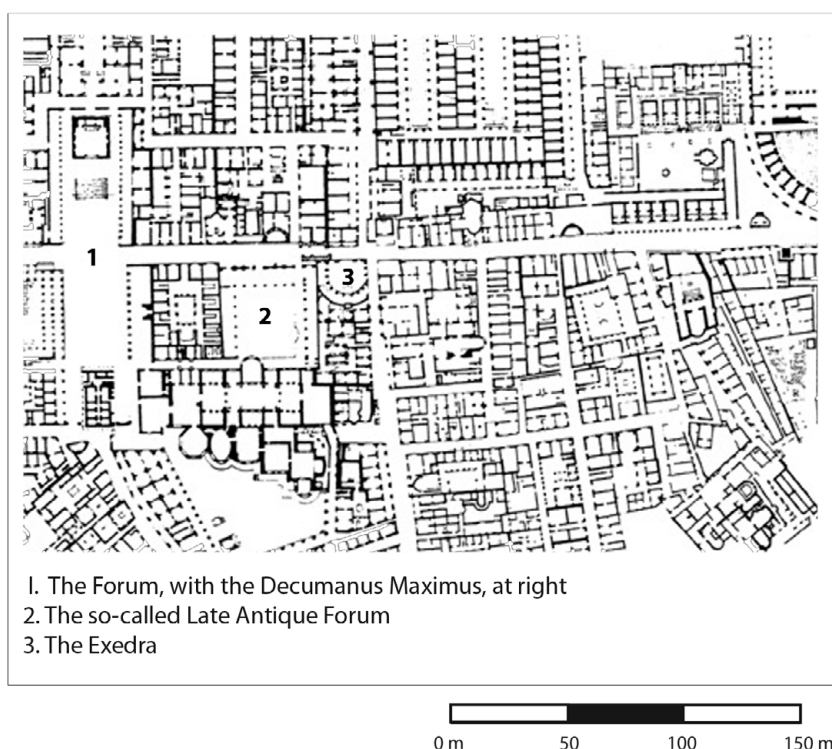
on the west side of the old castrum wall (Map 1, south of no. 8). They also comprised at least one new forum space, or market, with an adjacent exedra that may have evoked the urban grandeur of Constantinople. The installation of this exedra and next-door plaza occurred in the mid-fourth century. Its construction supplemented many preexisting civic spaces, such as the Forum, theater, and Decumanus. We will consider those spaces in Part Two.

The so-called Late Antique Forum (1.12.2) with its adjacent exedra (1.12.3) calls for brief comment. Both are located on the south side of the Decumanus Maximus (Map 1, no. 10; and [Figure 15](#)). The Forum was built *de novo* in the fourth century; this date has been established, in part, by the reuse of an inscription from 285–86 CE found in the portico of the square.⁸⁴ A second phase of restoration in the mid-fifth century has also been detected. Unfortunately, the function of the building is entirely unclear, but as Axel Gering has now proposed, it may have served as one of town's *macella*. The semicircular exedra adjacent to it also seems to have formed an important part of its urban ensemble. It blocked off passage from a north-south side street that had once steered foot traffic to and from the Decumanus. Although potentially disruptive to Late Antique pedestrian patterns, this semicircular open plaza spoke to a contemporary architectural craze for circular forum spaces that had begun in late Roman cities of the eastern and African provinces. Constantine's forum at Constantinople, for example, was a circular space; and there were similar architectural spaces in Apamea, Syria, and in Lepcis Magna, North Africa. There may also have been one in Jerusalem.⁸⁵

Similarities with the exedra in Rome's imperial fora, such as those in the Forum of Augustus or Trajan, are undeniable, of course. But the installation of an exedra at Ostia in the mid-fourth century, not the first or the second century, suggests to me the idea that architectural trends of the empire had come full circle – from the provinces to the second capital back to the ancient harbor of Rome. With it, the town's well-traveled residents may have even felt that a little part of New Rome had come to Late Antique Ostia. These types of features – regular colonnades, open public stages, colonnaded set designs, and even powerful city walls – were increasingly important symbols of Late Antique urbanism, as Hendrik

⁸⁴ The inscription mentions Manilius Rusticianus (Gering 2011, 428, with epigraphic study by Kaumanns at id., 496–97). I discuss Rusticianus, known from an extant Ostian inscription, in [Chapter 4](#). See also Gering 2004, 326–34 (exedra).

⁸⁵ For the evidence, see Bauer 1996, 167–85.



15. Plan of the Forum and Decumanus. Modified from Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689.

Dey has now suggested.⁸⁶ The Late Antique Decumanus, in conjunction with the Late Antique Forum, thus provided the trappings of a familiar urban stage, where one could imagine all the usual dramas of a self-important city playing out.⁸⁷ With avenues suitable (in theory) for the grandest of imperial processions, filled on a daily basis with the quotidian conversations of family, friends and co-workers, the city center of Late Antique Ostia had space for everyone. Everyone, not just the emperor, was an actor in the Late Antique town.

The dead ends of “Christian Ostia”

So where are “the Christians” in this picture? The answer, as it relates to the study of the urban image of Ostia, deserves a preface. For as explained in [Chapter 1](#), I believe that we will never gain the proper

⁸⁶ For example, see Dey 2010, with further studies forthcoming.

⁸⁷ For the study of the architecture and public spaces along the Decumanus, see Gering 2004.

perspective on Christianity's role in Late Antique Ostia unless we move everyone else to the foreground of the picture and study Christianity as the newcomer, actively shaping its urban environment, not functioning as the presumptive establishment.⁸⁸ In my opinion, studies that have focused exclusively on the evidence for "Christian Ostia" too often lead to scholarly dead ends, producing static, two-dimensional caricatures of Late Antique Christianity in the process without any attention to the mechanism by which society was transformed. The following examples, which *do* lead to scholarly dead ends and *do* produce a static snapshot of society, are intended to illustrate this approach. Part Two departs radically from it.

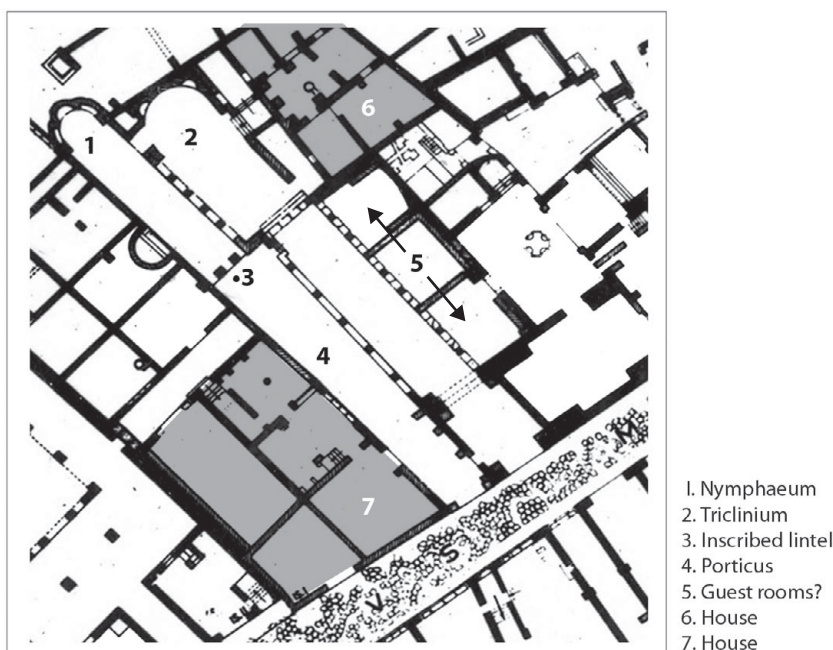
The earliest Christian material dates to the late third or early fourth century and ranges from ceramics with the chi-rho to a marble pilaster inscribed with a sixth-century chi-rho, found in the Baths of Mithras (1.17.2, see Map 1, west of no. 8). A glass vessel and a few pieces of jewelry also feature the Christogram, as discussed in [Chapter 1](#). Monumental architecture is limited to one basilica within the walls, a funerary basilica south of town, and ambiguous remains beneath several extra-urban churches. A small fountain, or perhaps baptismal space, located in an unidentified building is a particularly well-known piece of this architectural puzzle (Map 1, no. 6). The inscription on its lintel shows a chi-rho and names the four rivers of paradise from Genesis.⁸⁹ Seen together, this body of evidence is slim, but that fact has not prevented scholars from interrogating it – in isolation from the broader town – for what it might reveal about "Christian Ostia." The image that has resulted from these studies is highly illuminating.

The building with the inscribed lintel, located on a branch of the town's Decumanus Maximus, is an instructive example to consider in this regard. Guido Calza, who first discovered the building in the archaeological campaigns of the late 1930s, suspected it was the bishop's basilica, sponsored by Constantine and mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*.⁹⁰ The building (3.1.4, see [Figure 16](#)) is an architectural hybrid that combines features of a bath in the northeast section with small rooms along the eastern side. Its western corridor, which culminated in the fountain room,

⁸⁸ Brenk 2003, 39–48.

⁸⁹ Genesis 2.10–14.

⁹⁰ Calza 1939–40.



16. Plan of the building at 3.1.4 and its environs on the western Decumanus. Modified from *SdO* 1, tav. 7.

closed off a portion of an older alleyway.⁹¹ For Calza, the building's location in the center of town suggested the extent to which Christianity had taken hold of Ostia's population in the fourth century, thus providing his readers a clear division between the "pagan" and "Christian" city that hinged on the intervention of Emperor Constantine.

The name "Volusianus," etched on the column shafts of the nave and on many of the fifty-two column shafts stored down the street (3.2.2), also led Calza to associate the construction with the prefect of Rome, Ceionius Rufius Volusianus Lampadius, who held office 365 CE.⁹² Ammianus Marcellinus describes this Volusianus as a proud man who emblazoned his name on monuments throughout the capital.⁹³ Volusianus,

⁹¹ Gobbi 1998a and 1998b.

⁹² *RE* "Ceionius 17" [= Ceionius Rufius Volusianus *signo* "Lampadius 5," *PLRE* 1]. For discussion of his other known public building activities, see also Lizzi Testa 2004, 71–85; and Chenault 2008, 167–76.

⁹³ "vanitatis autem eius exemplum . . . hoc unum sufficet poni leve quidem sed cavendum iudicibus. per omnia enim civitatis membra, quae diversorum principum exornarunt impensae, nomen proprium inscribebat, non ut veterum instaurator sed conditor," Amm. Marc. *RG* 27.3.7.

however, could equally be the son of the family's fourth-century urban prefect, suggesting an even later date for the building and thereby changing significantly the social-historical context of its construction.⁹⁴ Meiggs identified the man with the son, the brother of Albina, a known Christian who corresponded with Augustine.⁹⁵ Another epistolary exchange, dated 412 CE, even suggests that Volusianus did not identify himself as a Christian at that time.⁹⁶ Scholars continue to adjudicate these issues.⁹⁷ For me, any connection between these men and the building at Ostia, if any, remains wholly conjectural, and I am prepared to admit that the epigraphic and prosopographic evidence is entirely unresolvable at present.

The building itself has undergone new study. Following the interpretation proposed by Calza, Meiggs, for example, believed that the site was Ostia's basilica. From its haphazard construction he inferred that the Christian community lacked adequate financial resources to fund a proper bishop's church.⁹⁸ Thus the Ostian structure lacks the grand footprint that distinguishes Constantinian ecclesiastical building projects in Rome.⁹⁹ Recent scholarly opinion holds that the space was a multifunctioning Late Antique domus, perhaps a *xenodochium*, or guesthouse. The inscription on the lintel above the entryway to the nymphaeum is now interpreted as naming the Roman family, the Tigriniani, who paid for the construction of the fountain space in the fourth or fifth century.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, the discovery of a fourth-century basilica in the southeastern section of Region 5 (Map 1, no. 16) has confirmed that the bishop's seat was elsewhere.¹⁰¹ Not only that, this basilica's location on the edge of the city reveals, pace Calza, that fourth-century Christianity did not occupy a monumental position in the heart of the old town. As a result, Late

⁹⁴ Fuhrmann 1941; see also Matthews 1967; Arnheim 1972, 156–68; and Chastagnol 1956 and 1962.

⁹⁵ Aug. *Ep.* 126; see Meiggs 1973, 398–99.

⁹⁶ Aug. *Ep.* 132 and 135. Only at the end of his life (in 437 CE) did Albina's daughter, the younger Melania, convert him and arrange for baptism on her uncle's deathbed; see O'Donnell 2005, 247–48. See also "Ceionius Rufius Volusianus 3," *PLRE* 1.

⁹⁷ See now Cameron 2011, 49–50.

⁹⁸ *SdO* 1.155–63; see also Meiggs 1973, 388–403, 518–31.

⁹⁹ See Brandenburg 2004, 55–113.

¹⁰⁰ The inscription, as restored, reads: "In Christo Geon, Fison, Tigris, Euphrata | Tigr[in]ianorum sumite fontes"; see Burzachechi 1957–59 and Brenk and Pensabene 1998–99. For earlier studies, see von Gerkan 1939 and Klauser 1939–42.

¹⁰¹ Bauer and Heinzlmann 2001, 1999a, 1999b, and 1999c.

Antique Ostia is remarkable for its lack of securely identifiable Christian buildings.¹⁰² Why?

Beat Brenk has suggested that this urban image was the result of Christian “toleration” for traditional temple and sanctuary spaces. I agree with that characterization in principle, particularly as it applies to the social world of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. No temple, for example, was ever turned into a church during that time or even after. Having said that, however, “tolerance” does not really accurately describe the social dynamics that accompanied the rise of Christianity in the first four centuries. Christians of antiquity, even before they were called Christians, had to find ways to downplay aspects of their minority status by emphasizing what values they held in common with larger society – if they wanted to succeed as a group in the Roman world.¹⁰³ Wealth and patronage, then, played an important role in helping all Christians, not just at Ostia, achieve a greater visibility and a greater social status, both before and after the so-called Edict of Milan.¹⁰⁴ That sociological perspective helps us understand the limited footprint of visible Christianity in the urban image of Ostia. Adaptation, assimilation, and social compromise – three characteristics of social interaction that are almost impossible to find in any archaeological record – remained vital tools for the movement’s success throughout the fourth and fifth centuries, and beyond.¹⁰⁵

Today, however, only a handful of the wealthy Ostians who may have been at the forefront of this movement are known by name, but their role in making Christianity socially acceptable cannot be overlooked. Anicius Auchenius Bassus and Tyrennia Honorata, a husband and wife who were “devoted to God and the holy men and women (*sanctis*),” are two of them. They erected an inscription with a chi-rho to commemorate a joint act of beneficence in the fourth century although the inscription does not specify what exactly they donated; Bassus is known to have bestowed other urban gifts and received other public recognition in cities from Naples to Beneventum.¹⁰⁶ Faltonia Betitia Proba and her husband,

¹⁰² Brenk 2003, 39. I will return to this point in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

¹⁰³ Boin (forthcoming). For my interpretation of fourth-century social history, see Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁴ See the discussion of Turner 1969 in Chapter 1 of this book; and also White 1997a.

¹⁰⁵ See now Bowes 2008; see also Salzman 1990.

¹⁰⁶ “Anicius Aucienius (*sic*) Bassus, v(ir) c(larissimus) et Turrenia Hono | -rata, c(larissima) f(emina) eius cum filiis deo sanctisque devoti,” *CIL* 14.1875 [= *ILS* 1292 = *ILCV* 91]; see also Février 1958, 299–305; and *PLRE* 1 “Bassus 11” and “Honorata 3,”

Clodius Celsinus Adelphius, who paid for water supply to the baths at the inner harbor, are another two benefactors. It is unfortunate that the epigraphic record cannot tell us any more. Only when we broaden our image of “Christian Ostia” to include these kinds of wealthy civic benefactions and acts of public patronage not necessarily centered on churches will we gain a more nuanced image of social life in the Late Antique city.¹⁰⁷

This chapter has sketched the contours of the Late Antique town in order to set the stage for a more detailed discussion of the third through seventh centuries. Part Two moves the remainder of the textual and material evidence to the foreground of the picture.

as well as Chastagnol 1962, 211–16; and Orlandi 2006 and 1997. *CIL* 9.1568–69 (Naples) and *CIL* 10.5651 (Beneventum); see also Novak 1980 and *RE* 1.2200–08 “Anicius.”

¹⁰⁷ See now Brown 2012; and also Noble 2003, Humphries 2003, and Thébert 1987. On Christian epigraphy at Ostia, see also Mazzoleni 2001; and Nicolai 1994, 244–46.

PART TWO

FOREGROUND

The third century: Roman religions and the long reach of the emperor

In his magnum opus, Edward Gibbon highlighted the role of religious belief in the empire's collapse, suggesting that the proliferation of ideas about a Christian afterlife discouraged investment in urban upkeep and social services.¹ The social, political, and urban changes of the third century have often raised a host of tantalizing questions that dovetail with Gibbon's hypothesis. Was it because of these turbulent times that Christianity spread throughout the empire in subsequent centuries? Did the third century witness a religious crisis, one that caused "religious bankruptcy" in the urban centers throughout the empire?² The material and textual evidence from Ostia, seen in light of new research on the third century, suggests most decidedly that it did not.

The third-century narrative

The third century CE was a battlefield. Over a period of nearly fifty years, from 235 CE to 284 CE, forty-two men with family roots planted all across the Mediterranean – from the Danube region to Syria, from Italy to Arabia – took the reigns of the state, ruling Rome and her provinces. Several of them took charge while engaged in military campaigns at the border of the empire, far afield from the capital itself. There, throughout the third century, a wave of Roman victories and defeats had begun to empower the soldiery to elevate their own leaders to the rank of emperor, or "Augustus." Not surprisingly, the isolated nature of these accessions, and the fact that one ruling emperor was frequently still alive at the time

¹ Gibbon 1932 (originally 1776–88), 2.93.

² Quoting Laeuchli 1967, 89.

of another man's elevation, could often lead to struggles for power. Of the forty-two men who ruled between 235 CE and 284 CE, eighteen, in fact, were imperial usurpers. Later tradition has bestowed on all these men a collective name, "soldier emperors," even though that term obfuscates the traditional Roman senatorial pedigree of several of the aspirants.³ Third-century imperial politics was clearly not a spectator sport. This struggle for authority was something not seen in the structures of the Roman state since the first century CE.⁴

As with any period of ancient Mediterranean history, however, the sources from which this picture has been constructed are not free from bias, factual confusion, or the occasional historical omission. Epigraphic evidence, for example, provides important additional information, or even a suggestive counterweight, to the force of many of these received traditions. Provocatively, a Greek epigraph from Syria attests to the rule of one "emperor" (Augustus) often passed over in lists of pretenders to the throne. She was a powerful female, Zenobia of Palmyra, who was presented as "Augusta" in at least one contemporary inscription and took command of the Roman provinces of Syria and Egypt for six years (269–74 CE).⁵ An inscription from Naqsh-e Rostam, on the other hand, located approximately 12 kilometers northwest of Persepolis in the Fars province of Iran, provides a much more scandalous view of third-century military engagements than even the Roman writers themselves suggest. This inscription mentions the fate of Gordian III (r. 238–44 CE), one of several third-century emperors, such as Probus, Galerius, and Valerian, who left their mark at Ostia.⁶ Unlike the statuary bases and restoration projects that served to glorify the legacies of those men among the Roman

³ Heil 2006.

⁴ For an introduction to a political-military narrative of the third century, see Potter 2004, 215–98.

⁵ "[ὁ]π[άτω] | ἀνθυπάτω, πατρὶ πατρίδος | ἀνεικὴτω Σεβαστῶ | καὶ Σεπτιμίᾳ Ζηνοβίᾳ | Σεβαστῇ μητρὶ | τοῦ <του> ἀγῆτῆτος [Αὐτο]κράτορος Οὐαβολλά[θου] | Ἀθην-οδώρου," *OGIS* no. 647. Given that the title "Augustus" (Σεβαστός) was such a point of contention in the struggles for third-century power, it is difficult to believe that the term "Augusta" was honorific (pace *OGIS* p. 355). For the Roman historical tradition, "<peregrina> enim, nomine Zenobia . . . quae se de Cleopatrae Ptolemaeorumque gente iactaret, post Odenatum maritum imperiali sagulo perfuso per umeros, habitu Didonis ornata, diademate etiam accepto . . . imperavit," *SHA* Tyr. Trig. 30.2.

⁶ For Probus, previously unpublished, see now Laubry and Poccardi 2009. For Galerius and Valerian (c. 281 CE), see *CIL* 14.4400–01.

populace, however, the inscription from Naqsh-i Rostam offers a much different perspective.⁷ Composed in Persian, Parthian, and Greek, the inscription, discovered in 1936, states that the Sasanian king Sapor I killed Gordian III on the battlefield near modern Fallujah, Iraq.⁸ The monument thus directly contradicts Roman historical tradition, which claims that Gordian's successor, Philip, killed the young ruler while encamped with the military in order to usurp imperial power. Because it may have been easier for a Roman audience to stomach the details of an imperial plot than it was for them to accept a stunning defeat at the hands of the new Persian dynasty, most scholars today trust the accuracy of the Sasanid inscription.⁹ Shocked by the death of their young emperor in battle, it seems that later Roman writers fabricated rumors of Philip's treacherous involvement to explain the inauspicious outcome of the battle.

In each of these cases, the narrative of the third century has proved both much richer and more complex when it has looked beyond parochial Roman voices to incorporate a range of historical evidence. It has benefited, too, from the discovery of previously unknown texts, such as the anonymous *Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle*, a poem written in Syria toward the end of the third century. Praising and disparaging several of the deeds of third-century emperors, such as Gordian III, Decius (r. 249–51 CE), and Valerian (r. 253–60 CE), the text has provided a unique glimpse of imperial change seen from those who lived in the Roman provinces.¹⁰ Yet even as archaeological and textual discoveries like these have helped historians to build a picture of history in much richer tones, a larger point has remained unshakeable: Military and political instability at the top of Rome's command structure was an inescapable characteristic of the third-century empire.¹¹ For that reason most scholars have usually described this period as one of general crisis. Third-century Ostia has not been immune from this characterization.¹²

⁷ See now Canepa 2009, 53–78.

⁸ See Frye 1983, 296, with discussion of discovery at n. 35 and appendix 4. For the Greek text, see Maricq 1958. Compare the Roman tradition, in which Philip murders Gordian to seize control (*SHA* Tres Gord. 30.1–9); see also Zos. 3.17.3 and Amm. Marc. *RG.* 24.2.9.

⁹ Kettenhofen 1983, 155.

¹⁰ Potter 1990, 141–54.

¹¹ See de Blois 2006.

¹² Meiggs 1973, 83–85.

Ostia and the third-century narrative

Today, the third century has become a battlefield once again.¹³ At issue is how much these political fluctuations at the top affected the broader administration of the empire and the daily lives of its citizens at the bottom. “Widespread” price inflation, which scholars frequently attribute to the gradual debasement of silver coinage during the third century, has often been cited as one of the pervasive calamities of the time.¹⁴ But did rampant inflation disrupt the lives of every province during this time, or did it reverberate on a much more limited scale, isolated geographically across the empire? If so, what led to these negative economic developments, and when specifically did they reach a tipping point: at the beginning, middle, or end?

These larger questions are important to ask at the outset of this chapter because for much of the twentieth century scholars have been inclined to view Ostia’s archaeological evidence through the lens of a presumably ubiquitous third-century crisis, one that infected all levels of Roman society and wrought economic, political, and religious upheaval in its wake. Perhaps not surprisingly, this approach has also frequently colored the interpretation of evidence from other sites and entire regions throughout the Mediterranean. Recent research has now begun to separate much of the assumed evidence in this debate from economic realities on the ground. The results have given a whole new purchase on our treatments of the third century and later. Understanding the tenor of this new work is vital for the interpretation of the Ostian evidence. For example, the Edict on Maximum Prices – commonly cited in the discussions of widespread third-century inflation – has been shown to come only from inscriptions found in the eastern half of the Mediterranean, not the west.¹⁵ This point, although minor and perhaps dependent on the uneven nature of archaeological discovery, does suggest that economic indicators varied from region to region.

¹³ See Hekster, de Kleijn, and Slootjes 2007; Johne, Gerhardt, and Hartmann 2006; and Witschel 1999.

¹⁴ See the earlier treatments by Jones 1966 and id. 1964; see also Rostovtzeff 1998, 1.433–501.

¹⁵ An observation made by Duncan-Jones 1982, 7–8, 366–69. For discussion of the near-contemporary Edict on Coinage, see Potter 2004, 333–37. A copy of the latter is preserved from Aphrodisias; see Erim, Reynolds, and Crawford 1971.

Even the significance of the third-century currency debasement, the lynchpin of economic “crisis” models, may not be adequately understood. The silver content of the currency may have changed, as scholars have pointed out.¹⁶ However, there is little way of knowing the systemic extent of that change on the prices of goods and services throughout the empire, or even in more specific contexts like at Ostia.¹⁷ Unlike in the modern period, no state institution was responsible for calculating the relationship between the amount of currency in circulation and the number of individuals using it. Thus, there was no objective measurement of how much money was circulating at specific points in time.¹⁸

In the realm of political change, recent work has also advanced a more cautious approach to the interpretation of third-century events. Christian Witschel has offered several fresh perspectives on this subject. On the level of imperial administration, he has demonstrated quite systematically that there was no wholesale breakdown in the governance of Roman cities until the sixth or seventh century. A consistent level of administration, unaffected by the immediate intrigues that may have plagued the third-century emperor, continued to pay the army, collect taxes, administer urban centers, oversee the distribution of agriculture, and manage agricultural surpluses for the state during this time.¹⁹ This attention to aspects of long-term continuities is an important theoretical foundation for the present study because the dearth of public inscriptions in the epigraphic record – witnessed both at Ostia and elsewhere throughout the Mediterranean – has frequently led scholars to assume a wholesale breakdown in civic administration of towns and cities during that time. The fact that after 249 CE no new inscriptions were ever dedicated at the so-called Forum of the Corporations – the focal point of Ostia’s commercial management in the High Empire – has often been cited to support this view of irreversible municipal decline and wholesale urban abandonment.²⁰

As Witschel has shown, these kinds of details, acquired from the archaeological record by happenstance, need not portend calamitous

¹⁶ See Greene 1990, 61–63.

¹⁷ For discussion of the economy at Ostia across the imperial and Late Antique periods, see Pavolini 1996 and 1985; see also Paroli 1996 and Lo Cascio 2002.

¹⁸ Witschel 2004, 258.

¹⁹ Witschel 2004, 261–65 (on the lack of structural changes in Italy).

²⁰ Dedicated by the “corpus me(n)sorium frum(entariorum) ost(iensium),” *AE* 1913.189; see van der Meer 2009, 167.

social decline.²¹ In fact, they need to be reevaluated with an eye on social and cultural continuities.²² A drop in inscriptions, for example, needs not signify irreversible social, economic, or demographic forces at all, and abundant architectural repairs or a wealth of other archaeological evidence from cities throughout the Mediterranean reveals signs of urban rebound during successive centuries.²³ Such is certainly the case at Ostia, as we will see in the discussion of the town's vibrant fourth-century urban image. This attention to history's *longue durée* is a useful model for the social historian and archaeologist of Late Antique Ostia because it allows us to capture specific points of transformation and change as they manifest themselves over a period of centuries, not decades.²⁴

None of this recent research denies that changes are visible in the third-century archaeological record. Some portions of Ostia, like the Casseggiato dei Molini (1.3.1), succumbed to fire and may have never been rebuilt.²⁵ At issue, however, is the significance that has been assigned to changes like these and to the events that caused them. Cities were always in a state of flux. Temples grew old as their citizens, priests, and worshippers grew old around them. Oftentimes, even in the purportedly best of times, decades and sometimes centuries passed before they were repaired or updated. Fires, earthquakes, and floods, as well, were a constant source of danger in the ancient world to apartments, houses, and baths.²⁶ And yet, these and other disasters are often used to evoke images of citywide collapse in the third century, painted with the broadest possible strokes, when there is no reason to believe they occurred any less frequently in early times. Catastrophe scenarios, to borrow Witschel's succinct diagnosis, have managed to perpetuate themselves, even when local evidence contradicts their catastrophic outcomes.²⁷ The general, long-lasting social stability evinced by these kinds of urban upkeep have often been lost in treatments that are at haste to portray the third

²¹ Witschel 2004, 253–55, 257.

²² A point made for the North African evidence by Saastamoinen (2010) and for the Spanish evidence by Kulikowski (2004). See now Kalas 2010 for Rome, pace Alföldi 2001, who takes a more pessimistic view.

²³ For example, see Eck 2007 (Cologne); Hilali 2007 and Witschel 2006 (North Africa); Oenbrick 2006 (Shahba, Syria); and Ruffing 2006 (Egypt).

²⁴ Braudel 1958, 727–29.

²⁵ See the discussion in Chapter 2.

²⁶ Aldrete 2007.

²⁷ Witschel 2004, 252.

century as an irreversible point of urban decline. The goal of this chapter is to move beyond those simplistic models of urban collapse and, above all, to sever their tendentious ties with theories alleging the inevitable or widespread conversion of the population to Christianity during the same time.²⁸

The centrality of the emperor: Excavating Roman imperial cult

Given that the figure of the emperor has long dominated our views of the third century, it seems appropriate to begin by discussing what role the figure of the emperor played in Late Antique Ostia.²⁹ Indeed, the numerous ways his image was manifest throughout the city, whether in textual sources like inscriptions and dedications or in material ones like portraiture, will point us in the direction of understanding how the people of Ostia may have understood Roman imperial cult practices during this time.

The centrality of imperial cult devotion, ritual, and sacrifice during the third century cannot be overlooked. It had become an integral part of civic life in the cities and provinces of the empire since the first century.³⁰ Archaeologically, however, the nature of this devotion to the imperial house has often been hard to find. Priests, offices, and religious-civic organizations like the Augustales are well known in the epigraphic record,³¹ yet rituals that may have been performed as part of this devotion are nearly, although not always, invisible in the archaeological record. Finding traces of cult acts, like incense or libations, demands the careful attention of an excavator alert to the detritus of their presence, and such has not always been the case at Ostia. Votives, too, especially smaller ones, have often been overlooked in dedicatory contexts such as these and not recorded as such when published at all. Larger dedications – usually bearing inscriptions – are often all that remain of what once constituted a plethora of dedications at any sanctuary space. Chance, it is helpful to remember, dictates the frequency and kind of evidence that

²⁸ As proposed for the Mediterranean more broadly, for example, by Stark 1996, 147–62.

²⁹ For the emperor in cities, more broadly, see de Blois 2006; see also Hannestad 2001 and Guidobaldi 2001a.

³⁰ See Fishwick 2005; see also Price 1984 and the overview by Rives 2007, 132–57.

³¹ *CIL* 14*.5322 (Augustales, c. 11 CE); *CIL* 14.73 (Temple of Roma and Augustus). On the former, see Laird 2000. On the latter, see Chapter 4.

has been bequeathed to us in our search for religious life at the level of the nonelite.

Architecture, on the other hand, has often proved a more reliable source for reconstructing the importance of imperial cult practices in local contexts. Ostia provides a picture no different from Rome or elsewhere in this regard. Temples throughout the town that were not necessarily dedicated to the worship of the imperial family could become places distinguished for their association with the emperors who financed and restored them, as happened when Hadrian rededicated the Temple of Serapis on his own birthday.³² Other temples were purpose-built for the worship of an individual emperor and the ruling imperial house; they remained landmarks in their urban landscape. The Temple of Roma and Augustus on the southern side of the Ostian Forum functioned in this way from the early first century CE.³³ Some buildings may not have been temples at all, at least in function, yet still they served to glorify the imperial ruler by placing him in a physical setting that evoked the power of the gods over the cosmos. Rome's Pantheon, for example, was dedicated to all the gods but served as a *de facto* imperial audience hall, invoking the gods' well-ordered universe to convey the authority of the ruling emperor.³⁴

This last example is particularly relevant because Ostia had a building of similar appearance that functioned in a similar way. It was built in the third century.³⁵ Today that building, once termed Ostia's "Pantheon" in earlier literature, is known as the Round Temple (1.11.1 and [Figure 17](#)). It deserves renewed scrutiny, both for a better understanding of its architectural features and for what it can contribute to our understanding of the centrality of imperial cult and the rhetoric of power in the third-century town.³⁶

The construction of this building in the mid-third century suggests to me that the center of Ostia remained a theatrical staging ground for

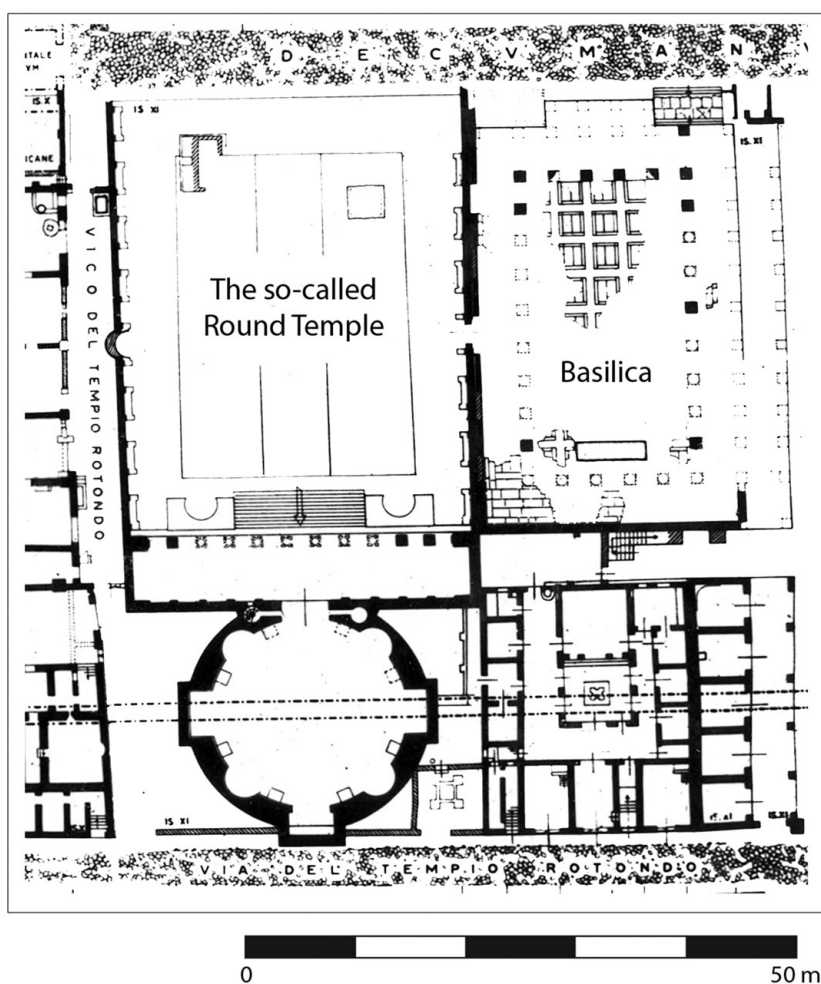
³² See Bloch 1959.

³³ For inscriptions related to the cult and its priests, see Taylor 1912, 46–51.

³⁴ Cassius Dio explicitly states that Hadrian used the Pantheon to conduct business (67.7.1).

³⁵ Rieger 2004, 173–98 and 301–12. Wilson Jones (1989, 144, no. 18) placed the date in the late third century, based on comparisons with the architectural features of other round buildings. For a date under Diocletian, based on connoisseurship, see Briggs 1930, 166.

³⁶ Briggs 1930.



17. The area of the so-called Round Temple. Modified from *SdO* 1, tav. 7.

political, aesthetic, imperial, and ideological activity during this time. In addition, I would propose that, even if the temples of Ostia's Forum did suffer visible neglect during this time, as could often happen throughout imperial times, the completion of this building was a dramatic architectural addition and a highly rhetorical assertion of Roman authority. The force of its presence – as a symbol of power, as a hallmark of civic identity, and as a potential site for the performance of ritual and cult acts that would have glorified the imperial house – cannot be downplayed. An analysis of the building's remains is the first step in trying to reconstruct its political, religious, and civic importance.

The building, which replaced an earlier, rectangular building on the same site, was a grand structure located to the west of the Forum temples.³⁷ It comprised an open courtyard, measuring 41 meters by 35 meters, oriented along a north-south axis. All indications suggest that the courtyard was directly accessible from the Decumanus Maximus, although whether it was constructed at a higher elevation than the street or was originally level to it is today unclear because of the undocumented removal of earlier stratigraphic layers in this area. A door located in the center of the eastern side of the courtyard also permitted entrance to and egress from the basilica adjoining the Forum. At the end of the courtyard on the southern side was located a stepped platform, rising approximately 3.8 meters from the elevation of the courtyard. On the basis of the analysis of the remains, all scholars who have studied the site conclude that the room was covered with a brick-faced concrete dome, the diameter of which measured 16 meters, precisely half the diameter of the Pantheon. That the space was pierced with an oculus seems highly probable, given the prevalence of that design feature in other round buildings of imperial design.³⁸ Also a matter of conjecture, however, is the precise reconstruction of a curious architectural feature of the site: a spiral staircase located to the west of the rotunda's threshold (Figure 18). This stairway, approximately 1.53 meters wide, spirals around a central column. Did this staircase lead viewers to a position on the interior of the rotunda, providing a view down on the hall; or was it perhaps the base of a tower that lead to an outdoor belvedere, from which one could behold the surrounding monuments of Ostia's Forum? The fact that neither of these interpretations can be determined precisely from the state of the remains today is a shame because the spiral staircase is a rather imaginative and undeniably unique feature of the building.

The latest sculptural remains found on site, colossal statues of both Alexander Severus (r. 222–35 CE) and Gordian III (r. 238–44 CE and Figure 19), support the view that it was erected in the third century. I agree with this consensus. The presence of Gordian III's portrait, in fact, led Russell Meiggs to propose that the emperor had been responsible for

³⁷ For the earlier building, dated to the late first century CE or perhaps the early second century CE, see Rieger 2004, 186–90.

³⁸ See MacDonald 1982, 12 (so-called Temple of Mercury, Baiae), 38–39 (Domus Aurea, Rome), 110–11 (Pantheon, Rome).



18. View of the spiral staircase at the so-called Round Temple. Author's photograph, facing west, 2007.

the building's completion.³⁹ This hypothesis would certainly accord well with the fact that the young emperor had planned or undertaken other building projects in Rome itself during his brief reign.⁴⁰ More definitive evidence, however, such as brick stamps or a dedicatory inscription, is needed to support the claim.⁴¹ It is clear from the numismatic record

³⁹ Meiggs 1973, 81–82. For Gordian III's portraiture, see Kleiner 1992, 366–68; and Helbig⁴ 1.180, 1.189, and 1.1321.

⁴⁰ "Porticus Gordiana," *LTUR* 4.123–24.

⁴¹ Such evidence may come from new excavations at the adjoining House of the Round Temple (1.11.2), located to the southeast of the site. The walls of this house, whose masonry has been dated to the mid-third century, abut the walls of the rotunda and, consequently, postdate its construction; see Becatti 1948, 102–28. For new excavations at 1.11.2, see Gessert 2006.

from the Mediterranean, at least, that Gordian III did seek to promote himself in the same way that his predecessors had done for centuries.⁴²

What is frustrating is that the function of this extraordinary building is still unknown. In my view, I doubt it ever really was a “temple,” a word bestowed on the site without any epigraphic or textual support. Its architectural footprint and the nature of its extant remains today lead me to believe that it was a much more multipurpose space than any one label can capture. I am inclined to see it much like Rome’s Pantheon: a lavish setting for the performance of imperial and governmental business and a powerful reminder of imperial presence, after business had been concluded. Because the Late Antique emperor himself was most often elsewhere, I suspect but cannot prove that the building was intended as the audience hall of the prefect of the grain, whose authority at the harbor town would have been buttressed by his visual connection to members of the imperial dynasty. The discovery of earlier imperial portraiture on-site supports this interpretation. Two portraits of Trajan, one colossal head and one bust, were found inside the Round Building and its portico, as well as one each of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.⁴³ Also found behind the temple, in the rubbish from an 1802–04 exploration of the site, was a portrait of Julia Domna, wife of Septimus Severus.⁴⁴

Anna-Katharina Rieger has also now assigned several other High Imperial portraits to the building. These include representations of Antoninus Pius; a young Marcus Aurelius; a woman who may be his mother, Domitia Lucilla; and a man who may be the emperor Didius Julianus or Pescennius Niger.⁴⁵ Despite the lack of definitive evidence to prove Rieger’s suggestion that these portraits came from the building, I believe that she is right. This dynastic assembly would have dramatically enhanced the power of the space, and the space in turn would have become more august by the gallery. These were men and women who had either helped shape Ostia over time or had wanted to advertise their capacity to do so, and the portraiture of Alexander and Gordian played an important part in exalting the rulers and their families. The space itself thus

⁴² See von Aulock 1974.

⁴³ The head and bust are now displayed in the Munich Glyptothek and the Vatican Museum; see Rieger 2004, 306–07.

⁴⁴ See Paschetto 1912, 499–524; see also Rieger 2004, 310.

⁴⁵ See Rieger 2004, 306–11, TR 31 (Antoninus Pius), TR 32 (perhaps Domitia Lucilla), TR 35 (Marcus Aurelius), and TR 36 (Didius Julianus or Pescennius Niger).



19. Colossal portrait head of Gordian III, 238 CE. From Ostia. Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo delle Terme), Rome, Italy. Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

articulated the nature of authority in the harbor town. One statue base found in the Round Building, for example, was dedicated to Sabinia Tranquillina, Gordian's wife.⁴⁶

Beyond the personality of the emperor, however, it was the government official who managed business among these visages on a day-to-day basis, perhaps the prefect of the grain (*praefectus annonae*), who would have appropriated the social majesty of this imperial display. It is highly likely then that the building provided at least some space for the performance of imperial cult activities.⁴⁷ Evidence for cult, ritual, or sacrifice directed toward the emperor or imperial house is no longer extant, but the audacity of the architecture, the nature of the historic sculptural assembly, and the building's rhetoric of power suggest to me that many people in Late Antique Ostia may have perceived the building in terms related to the performance of Roman imperial cult. Space, form, architecture, and

⁴⁶ "Furiae Sab[inae] | Tranquill[inae]," *CIL* 14^S.4399. For other dedications to Gordian III at Ostia, see also *CIL* 14^S.4397–98.

⁴⁷ Rieger 2004, 173–214.

art all participate in the construction of social meaning.⁴⁸ Rome's famous "temple," the Pantheon, functioned in much the same way. There, the sun, shining its spotlight on the seated emperor, elevated him to the co-ruler of the universe as he sat beneath the dome of the cosmos, drawing his authority from the symbols of the heavens. In his absence, that same space bequeathed a similarly august heritage to his successors and administrators. A compelling dynastic ideology of accession and imperial authority, pervaded by traditional religious themes of the sun and heavens, resonates from the power of the architecture in Rome and at Ostia alike.⁴⁹

One detail shared by the colossal statues of Gordian and Alexander Severus offers evidence to support this parallel reading of the spaces in Rome and Ostia. The rulers are depicted with their eyes uplifted to the sun. Gordian III's chiseled pupils and irises provide a clue for viewing the space from the eyes of those who stood in front of him.⁵⁰ The uplifted eyes suggest that both emperors were understood to take their place in the long tradition of rulers who had held the same "cosmic kingship." By Gordian's time, this motif dated back to Hadrian, Augustus, and even earlier.⁵¹ The chiseled, uplifted eyes lent the ruler's face a sense of vitality and emphasized his *pietas* toward the sun god, Sol Invictus, one of the divine companions of the Roman emperor and the Roman people.⁵² Elagabalus, Gordian, Aurelian, and others all used this iconographic device to advertise the open lines of communication between gods and ruler, enhancing their own divine status – long before Christians, it should be mentioned, popularized their own explanation for the emperor Constantine's uplifted eyes.⁵³ The fact that contemporary Sasanian rulers also drew on similarly traditional religious themes to support their own ruling ideologies demonstrates that the idea was not specifically Roman.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ In Roman architectural history, see Davies 2000; see also Elsner 1995, Edwards 1996, and MacDonald 1998.

⁴⁹ See Davies 2000, 86–92; see also MacDonald 1976.

⁵⁰ Hannestad 1994, 56–58.

⁵¹ *SHA* "Tres Gord." 22.1–5.

⁵² Davies 2000, 86–92; on the cult of Sol Invictus in Rome, see also Drake 2000, 129–32; and Beard, North, and Price 1998, 1.259–60.

⁵³ Compare Eus. *Vita Const.* (4.15) with *Pan. Lat.* 7.21.4, which interprets Constantine's vision as an epiphany of Apollo-Sol; see McCormack 1981, 33–50; Drake 2007; and Marlowe 2006.

⁵⁴ Canepa 2009, 53–78.

The portraits at Ostia also worked in harmony with their surroundings to promote a sense of optimism about the future – not an inconsequential message at the middle of the third century. The gallery of emperors, including Trajan and Hadrian, invested rulers like Gordian III with a sense of *gravitas* and *auctoritas* that was borrowed from the past. Even the spiral staircase may have contributed to that same rhetorical posture. With each turn inside the stairwell, the visitor replicated the same process of circumambulation that marked a climb up to the belvederes of columns in Rome, like those of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius. This climb gave viewers a unique vantage from which to look out on monuments honoring the emperor's predecessor, as Penelope Davies has suggested, and persuaded visitors to situate the present emperor among the same group of distinguished monarchs.⁵⁵ The spiral staircase of the Ostian building, I propose, functioned in a similarly rhetorical way. If it terminated in an external belvedere, it would have afforded a unique opportunity to foreground the present against the enduring legacies of the past by looking out over the Hadrianic Capitolium, the Temple of Roma and Augustus, and the Forum. If it terminated on the interior, it may have overlooked the stately hall of imperial visages just described. In either case, the sight of the past, seen from above, drew attention to the architectural achievements of the present.

This web of political, dynastic, religious, and ideological rhetoric provides a powerful lens through which to look back on third-century history. For if Meiggs is right, that it was completed circa 240 CE, its rhetoric of triumph coincided with the young emperor Gordian III's preparations to deploy to Mesopotamia. Having departed sometime before July 242 CE, however, Gordian never returned.⁵⁶ Thanks to the inscription at Naqsh-e Rostam, we now know why. Did the building at Ostia become yet one more visual reminder of dreams lost in a turbulent empire; or was it a symbol of normalcy, the site of Rome's administrative authority in the city, during an age afflicted with crisis? I suspect it functioned like most architecture does, as many things for many people, although one thing seems certain: an offering of incense, a silent or spoken prayer on behalf of the health of the emperor, a libation offered in the courtyard – none of these acts would have been out of place here in the mid-third century.

⁵⁵ Davies 2000, 120–35, 165–71.

⁵⁶ For the date of Gordian's departure, see Trout 1989, 225–26.

Domestic and workplace shrines

The people of Ostia who may have offered those vows and made those prayers for the health of the emperor have not often been given their due in the sacred landscape of the town. Still, they were not the only ones who devoted themselves to the well-being of the imperial family. The guild of the firemen also honored Gordian III and his wife with a dedication at their barracks.⁵⁷ And for as much as we lack information about specific cult acts directed to the health of the emperor (*pro salute Augusti*) at the site of the so-called Round Temple, followers of Mithras, both at Ostia and Rome, made dedications during this time using the same language of imperial recognition. The same formula also appears on a dedication at the Sanctuary of Magna Mater at Ostia.⁵⁸ Even the Jewish community commemorated the construction of their new Torah shrine with the Latin phrase “*pro salute Augusti*.”⁵⁹ We should remember that for as much as imperial cult devotion may have characterized the monumental center of town, it encompassed other sites throughout the city, too. Reverencing the emperor could take many forms, and we need not look in one place for signs of that highly adaptable set of practices.

It is within this larger landscape of the town that we find other aspects of religious life overlooked in discussions of the third century: evidence for domestic and workplace shrines and cult practices. Often, these devotions, such as a statuette or painting, honored gods and goddesses of local or familial importance. Sometimes, they elided worship of known deities with the figure of the emperor himself. All of this evidence offers another opportunity for the archaeologist and social historian to write a history of third-century Ostia with attention to the nuances of the town’s individuals. Jan Theo Bakker, who completed the most recent synthesis and study of this evidence in the early 1990s, has done just that.⁶⁰ His comprehensive work now needs to be integrated into this larger study of the third-century town. For there was a remarkable diversity to the ways

⁵⁷ *CIL* 14^s.4398.

⁵⁸ For Mithras, “pr(o) sal(ute) Augg(ustorum duorum) | s(oli) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) | Florius Hermadio | sacerdos s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit),” *CIMRM* 273, from the Mitreo della Planta Pedis (3.17.2); and *ibid.* 510 (at Rome). For Magna Mater, the evidence is fragmentary, but the restoration highly probable: “crinobolium factum [matri] | deum magn(ae) Ideae pr[o salut]e imp(eratoris) . . .,” *CIL* 14.40 (dated 180 CE); see also *ibid.* 14.42 (dated 251–53 CE).

⁵⁹ For the inscription, see the discussion in this chapter and n. 125.

⁶⁰ Bakker 1994.

in which people expressed their beliefs, their longings, and their needs at home and in their workplaces during this time.

“Home,” it should be pointed out, could often mean a variety of architectural spaces at Ostia. On one end of the scale, it could be an elaborate domus replete with courtyards, multiple dining rooms, fountains, and varying patterns of access to its rooms throughout the day or season. At the other end of the social scale, a residence could be a modest *cenaculum*, or small apartment. These were oftentimes located on an upper floor of an insula, although they are frequently seen at ground level, as well. Distinguished by a central, multipurpose room (*medianum*) with spaces set on either side it, these were often residences with multifunctional spaces, united around a corridor that joined the disparate rooms.⁶¹ Indeed, one of this form’s most defining characteristics is the absence of a room specifically set aside for the social ritual, the morning *salutatio*, held between a patron and his clients. The room is entirely absent from the plans of nonelite living spaces at Ostia.⁶²

Distinguishing these two types of residences, elite and nonelite, is an important first step in discussing the significance of household shrines in the Ostian archaeological record because, as best as we can tell today, both types of residences remained in use throughout the third century. Both elite and nonelite residences were thus fitted in some way with spaces for domestic cult during this time, and the expression of household devotion could often take many forms within them. It could be a simple, unadorned wall niche where residents of the family placed statuettes, lamps, or incense. Or it could be small altar base built up against a courtyard wall, framed by a columns and a pediment, similar to the shrines from Pompeii known for the worship of the Lares and Penates.⁶³ Remarkably, in a limited number of cases at Ostia, statuettes of divinities have even been discovered still in or nearby one or two of these niches and shrines – a truly remarkable aspect of preservation and one that is rarely acknowledged in secondary literature.⁶⁴ These are signs of religious devotion

⁶¹ This type of apartment has been given its name based on the presence of this middle room; see Ulpian *Digest* 9.3.5 (“ex mediano cenaculi”). For a discussion, see Hermansen 1982, 18–53; and DeLaine 2004.

⁶² Bakker 1994, 53.

⁶³ See Orr 1978.

⁶⁴ For paintings of Silvanus at the so-called Palazzo Imperiale, see Bakker 1994, 33. For a statuette of Juno at the Domus of the Fortuna Annonaria, *ibid.* 34. For a statuette of Jupiter at the Insula dei Dipinti, *ibid.* 54.

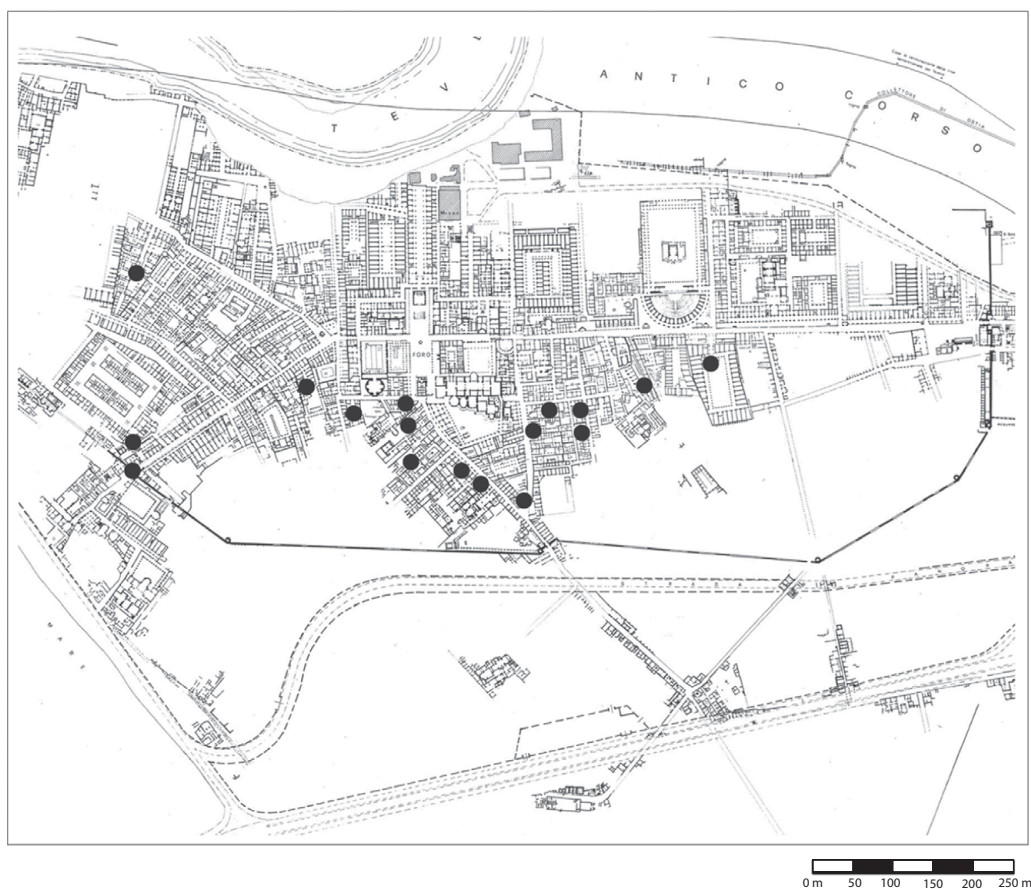
that happened to be frozen in place by something other than the blast of a volcano, and their discovery should cause us to pause and contemplate what forces conspired to preserve them for us: Was it a sudden natural disaster or casual abandonment; and if so, at what point in time were they left? Unfortunately, the circumstances behind their preservation are not all recoverable today.⁶⁵ What is clear is that the settings where they were found and even the places that lacked evidence for votives have provided a convincing indicator of the care bestowed on household divinities throughout the third century.

Bakker has identified seventeen such shrines located in elite and nonelite domestic contexts (Figure 20), all datable to the third century. A shrine in the Domus del Serapeo (3.17.3) was built at the time of the house's construction in the late third century. The Domus on the via del Tempio Rotundo (4.4.7) was built in the second half of the third century and also included a shrine. The Domus dell'Aquila (4.5.8), the Domus del Protiro (5.2.4–5), and the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria (5.2.8) were all built in the mid-third century and feature spaces distinctly set aside for the worship of household gods. One example has come from an apartment complex, the Caseggiato del Temistocle (5.11.2), in which a domestic shrine has been dated to the mid- to late third century. Other examples date later. The shrine at the Domus del Ninfeo (3.6.1–3) was used into the mid-fourth century. The shrine at the Domus dei Dioscuri (3.9.1) was built in the early fifth century.⁶⁶

These examples and the others like them contribute to our image of third-century domestic worship. This material may not be substantial, but it is a good representative sample of the kinds of evidence that may have been lost over time, whether due to decay or destruction or the vagaries of archaeological methods. Naturally, this picture will change as new data becomes available. New excavations might supplement it with more evidence for shrines in both houses and apartments. New masonry studies – on which most of the archaeological dating for these spaces has been determined – could also change our image of the period if the dates of shrines and the buildings to which they belong undergo any revision. Several archaeologists, for example, have already suggested that masonry techniques formerly attributed to the second century might have been

⁶⁵ In Chapter 5, I suggest one model for explaining the preservation of Ostian sculpture.

⁶⁶ For these dates and identifications, see Bakker 1994, 32–53, with appendix A.



20. Plan showing the distribution of Late Antique domestic and workplace shrines. After Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689.

used during the third century.⁶⁷ There is still much work to be done to give a more precise archaeological context to all of the findings outlined here. Still, the evidence as it is available today strongly supports the idea that the third century was a vibrant one for displays of small-scale devotion.

The shrines that formed part of this sacred landscape were not limited to domestic contexts or household gods. One example is particularly illustrative. At the start of the third century, slightly before the period considered here, a guild of bakers commissioned a painted shrine in

⁶⁷ See the discussion of the Schola di Traiano in Chapter 2.

honor of Silvanus and the emperor Caracalla.⁶⁸ The paintings depicted Caracalla as Augustus and showed him and the god Silvanus alongside representations of Isis and Harpocrates, Fortuna, Annona, and Alexander the Great. The entrance to this shrine was through a narrow corridor along the walls that showed representations of the Dioscuri, protectors of shipping. This space occupied a small room adjoining the workplace of the bakers, the *Caseggiato dei Molini*.

Other workspaces, such as the large grain depots, have preserved evidence for similar religious practices. One of these, the horreum at 5.12.1, has been dated to the end of the third century (Map 1, no. 15). Today, it is known as the *Horrea of Hortensius* for the presence of the name of “L(ucius) Hortensius Heraclida” in the black and white mosaic on the floor of a rectangular building located within the warehouse. The building measures approximately 3.5 meters wide by 3 meters deep and is located in the northwest corner of the warehouse (Figure 21). According to the mosaic, Hortensius was a *navarchus*, or captain, of the naval fleet stationed at Misenum. He paid for this large shrine in response to a vow that he had made.⁶⁹ The mosaic itself is still in situ beneath an altar that has been erected in front of a small podium. The podium was likely the location of a cult statue.⁷⁰ The placement of this religious space here in the grain storage facility may seem incongruous to us today, but it should be clear that its construction speaks to the same social world of those who honored the emperor Caracalla in the bakery across town, earlier in the third century.

In all, of the twenty-one workspaces that Bakker analyzed, seven workplace shrines can be dated to the Late Antique period. Not all of these are as illustrative as the shrine at the *Horrea of Hortensius*. Nevertheless, they do permit us to conclude that devotion to the traditional Roman religions at Ostia – outside of the realm of monumental architecture – was still present, if not pervasive, throughout the third-century town. This

⁶⁸ Dated by the presence of a graffito in honor of Caracalla’s *decennalia* on the wall; see Bakker 1994, 65–66, with the contribution “Mural Paintings in the *Sacello del Silvano*” at 262–72 (E. Moormann).

⁶⁹ “L. Horte(n)sius Heraclida n(avarchus) cl(assis) pr(aetoriae) Mis(enensis) ex voto templum fecit; Iulius Victorinus sacer(dos) tessel(avit),” *SdO* 4.231–32, no. 430. The nomen “Hortensius” has been deduced from an inscription found nearby (*CIL* 14^S.4317).

⁷⁰ Bakker 1994, 61–71; see also Rickman 1971, 312–15.



21. The *sacellum* at the Horrea of Hortensius (5.12.1). Author's photograph, facing north, 2011.

sacred landscape encompassed domestic spaces, workshops, and storage facilities; and it touched every aspect of daily life, just as Roman religion always had. Thus it should be no surprise that shrines and evidence for small-scale devotion even extended to the city's more popular attractions, its baths. Fifteen of the twenty-two cult spaces that were located in Ostian baths date, in fact, between the third and fifth centuries.⁷¹

BEYOND *RELIGIO*: AN AMULET FOR PROTECTION

However, within this urban milieu of traditional religious expressions, we can also observe that some people of Ostia communicated with the gods in ways that fell outside the boundary of proper Roman *religio*. One artifact in particular offers a helpful illustration of this wider phenomenon, which some scholars categorize as “magic.” I will say more about this word and its relationship to *religio* (and religion) after an introduction to the archaeological evidence because the artifact, a bronze amulet discovered in 1917, is not widely known in contemporary literature.

⁷¹ Bakker 1994, 59–60.

The amulet is replete with a host of apotropaic symbols and divine figures (Figure 22). It was found during excavations in the early twentieth century in an unspecified building. Guido Calza, who published the artifact as a supplement to his discussion of the apartment building known as the Casa di Diana, dated the context of its find sometime between the second and fourth century CE. There is no indication, however, that the amulet was found at the site of the apartment complex. It may have come from somewhere else.⁷² The amulet itself measures approximately 3.5 centimeters in diameter. It is pierced at the top by a hole so that it could be worn either as a necklace, around the wrist, or perhaps hung from a pin or an article of clothing. Cast from bronze, it has figures and symbols on both sides.

Text on one side spells out the name “Solomon.” Just beneath this name is a central figure, shown in profile, dressed in a flowing cloak or tunic. Calza thought the figure was a male, representing Solomon himself. The identification is certainly plausible. Solomon was a popular figure to invoke for personal protection. His name was often copied and spoken in similar contexts of papyrus spells and curse tablets. Some amulets bear his name alongside the words σφράγῖς θεοῦ, “the word of God,” a detail that suggests Solomon’s name may have been powerful shorthand for summoning divine intervention. Textual sources attribute to him the powers of exorcism.⁷³ Thus, it would not be strange for the figure at the center of the Ostian amulet to represent him. That said, there is no reason to exclude that the figure could also be a female. The textual record from the Roman and Late Antique periods is full of examples of females who often interpreted dreams or exercised similar magical powers.⁷⁴ Perhaps the figure depicted here was meant to represent one of those women. We should admit the limit of our evidence and at least remember that the owner, or wearer, of the amulet might have seen the figure he or she wanted to see.

Whomever this figure represented, it is also clear that scene invested the amulet with a presumed power. The figure itself faces left and holds a wand in his or her left hand. The right hand holds a staff that touches,

⁷² Calza 1917, 326–28; see also Calza 1918.

⁷³ For Solomon as healer, see Jos. *Arch.* 8.44–45; in general, see the Testament of Solomon [= PG 122, cols. 1315–58]. For Solomon as exorcist, see Jos. *Adv. Iud.* 8.2.5. For the corpus of amulets, see Bonner 1950.

⁷⁴ Juv. *Sat.* 6.542–91 (women mocked as dream interpreters). In general, see Dickie 2003.



22. Amulet from Ostia, third-century context. Exact findspot unspecified. Author's photographs.

or perhaps mixes, a large vase sitting on the ground. Symbols – some identifiable, some not – fill the space all around the central figure. There is a twin-snaked caduceus; the letter X; several stars; a star in a circle; and still other indecipherable markings. Earlier scholars sought to decipher the precise significance of these glyphs. I believe that the majority of them may never have had an identifiable reference at all. Like the garbled, fabricated language often used in the invocation of a curse, they may have acquired their power through their very incomprehensibility.⁷⁵

On the reverse of the amulet are three central figures. Calza identified them with priestesses of the goddess Hecate, known from identifiable iconographic parallels; and I support that interpretation. Among them, the two on either end hold a pair of objects: a torch and a short blade, or dagger. At the right and left of these figures are two lines. Calza believed that they represented two whips, or brands; and that their placement at the margins of the scene was the artist's way of depicting the objects held by the central figure. I am not entirely convinced by this interpretation because neither is connected in any way to the figures themselves. They could be representations of snakes, just as Calza himself proposed to identify the lines beneath the figures. Known to have apotropaic and beneficial effects, snakes were often included as the *genius* of a family in

⁷⁵ On the "impression of sonorous syllables" as the "suggestion of foreign speech," see Bonner 1950, 11–12; see also Bohak 2003.

a household *lararium* and would not be out of place here.⁷⁶ Then again, the precise significance of any of these symbols may not be recoverable, nor may it ever have been clear to anyone but the amulet's fabricator. It is in this context of lost intentions that we should discuss one of the amulet's most recognizably sacred symbols: the seven-branched candle stick, or menorah. Calza deduced from its presence that the amulet was worn or perhaps manufactured by someone of Jewish descent.

Evidence gathered from other amulets and curse tablets found throughout the Mediterranean now weighs against this interpretation. Calza did not have the benefit of this scholarship, but the tenor of the recent research is now clear. Aspects of the Hebrew faith frequently acquired talismanic properties all across the Roman Mediterranean in contexts far removed from Judaism, as has already been pointed out in the context of the name "Solomon." What led to this reinterpretation and appropriation of Jewish words and symbols? If we take textual sources at face value, members of the wider Greco-Roman world may have perceived Jewish customs to be set apart from mainstream Roman religious traditions. Thus, Pliny the Elder believed that the Jews had a special connection to magical practices.⁷⁷ Non-Jewish followers of the early Jesus movement may have believed something similar; the author of Luke-Acts describes Moses as a man of extraordinary powers.⁷⁸ This explanation tells only part of the story.

As modern scholars have shown, it was the Jewish connection with Egypt – the source of many other mystical and foreign signs and symbols – that most likely influenced the Roman perceptions of Jewish customs and culture. Jewish words and symbols most likely became associated with magical properties through geography and history, irrespective of their connection to Jewish practices themselves.⁷⁹ This interpretation is the one that finds most support today. It lends credence to the idea that the wearer of the Ostian amulet need not have possessed any social or cultural awareness of Judaism as a religious system while at the same time embracing a talisman with Jewish signs and symbols.⁸⁰ The power

⁷⁶ Orr 1978, 1569–75.

⁷⁷ Plin. *HN* 3.1

⁷⁸ Acts 7.22.

⁷⁹ See Bonner 1950, 22–32, 100–01; see now Bohak 2008.

⁸⁰ The Late Antique Christian inclination to associate Judaism, its sister faith, with magical practices is another topic entirely; see, for example, John Chrys. *Avd. Iud.* 8.5.6, 8.6.4, 8.7.1–3 (Jews and accusations of using amulets).

of these signs stemmed from their foreign qualities, not their specifically Jewish ones.

Given the amulet's foreign and incomprehensible brew of images, text, and symbols, then, it should be no surprise to learn that Roman authorities frequently felt the need to isolate and stigmatize the people who used them.⁸¹ Individuals who sought to circumvent the will of the gods in ways that went beyond the standard offering of a vow or the pouring out a libation at a household or city shrine were unknown quantities, threats to Roman order. The people who used tablets inscribed with curses or those who chanted incantations drafted on papyrus were putting themselves at risk of being perceived as subversive members of the Roman world. "Magic," as Roman authorities defined it, was a compulsive, coercive attempt to harness the will of gods and direct it against other people without their knowledge.⁸² As such, the word became a kind of shorthand for accusations of illicit religious behavior. Christians at Ostia later remembered their own persecution in these very terms, as a period in which they were branded as practicing "magical arts."⁸³ This *perceived* dichotomy between "magic" and "religion" tells us much about how the practices associated with curses and amulets were viewed at the time. But is this dichotomy ultimately a helpful one for us?

An earlier generation of scholars used the word "magic" to make essential judgments about the acts of ancient people whose beliefs and practices that they deemed distinct from our own proper practice of "religion." Today, consensus has moved toward a much more fluid understanding of the two terms.⁸⁴ There are merits to this approach. We should not, for example, let the view of the Roman authorities color our own interpretation of the amulet as an expression of one person's religious "moods and motivations," to quote Clifford Geertz.⁸⁵ The number of similar objects found in other contexts throughout the Mediterranean demonstrates how popular and widespread these practices were in antiquity, regardless of how their users were perceived and judged. Even the fact that the Ostian amulet seems unique among the finds from this site

⁸¹ See MacMullen 1966, 95–127. For the phenomenon in Late Antiquity, see Brown 1972, 119–46.

⁸² Rüpke 2007, 167–73.

⁸³ See the discussion of the life of Aurea in Chapter 6.

⁸⁴ See Versnel 1991, 177–81.

⁸⁵ See Chapter 1.

should not deter us from imagining a more widespread cultural interest in these kinds of objects; small artifacts like them are often easily overlooked in the absence of careful excavation. We should not be too quick to judge the nature of the religious beliefs that lay behind the creation of these objects and the practices that accompanied them.⁸⁶

That said, it is clear that terms like “magic” and “religion” can remain useful in the present context because they allow us to talk about how the beliefs and practices associated with material culture may have transgressed social boundaries at a particular point in time.⁸⁷ This social distinction is important because it draws attention to the agency of the individual person who commissioned and used an object like the Ostian amulet. Whether Roman authorities, on the other hand, ever learned about the anonymous person who wore this charm remains unknown. Nor will we ever be able to recover a sense of what the wearer’s neighbors, friends, and family members thought of the object’s power, if they even knew of its existence. The important point is to recognize that there was a range of religious and magical expressions available to those who lived in the third-century town – from dedications to the health of the emperor to cult acts associated with specific gods and goddess – and the amulet opens yet another window onto that world.

MITHRAS AT OSTIA

One more cult assumed a prominent place in the town in this time: the Roman cult of the god Mithras. The cult itself was not officially included among those that received state funds or property.⁸⁸ Abundant archaeological evidence for Mithraic meeting spaces from both Rome and Ostia, nevertheless, attests to its popularity and, by extension, to its social acceptance.⁸⁹ I will discuss the function of these Mithraea in a moment, paying particular attention to how the symbolism of their sacred space fostered a shared worldview among adherents of the cult.

Some aspects of this religious system – such as its emphasis on rites of initiation, rebirth, and its promotion of a dualistic worldview divided

⁸⁶ The literature is vast. See discussions by Frankfurter 2005b, Morony 2003, and Meyer 1994.

⁸⁷ Versnel 1991, 182–83.

⁸⁸ Clauss 2000, 24–25.

⁸⁹ Clauss 2000, 24–25. For Rome, see now Bjørnebye 2007, 8–84, who charts a rise, not decline, in Mithraic worship during the fourth century.

between light and dark – were rather unique when seen alongside the traditional Roman cults of the Olympian gods.⁹⁰ And yet, within this worldview there was considerable room to engage with other religious practices. Dedications made to the late Roman emperor as the “unconquered sun” (Sol Invictus), for example, invoked the same language used to honor Mithras, the sun god, himself. Sometimes, these dedications were even made by people who are known to have been followers of Mithras.⁹¹ The nature and potential of this overlap at the outset suggests that the cult of Mithras, like that of Isis, offers one more testament to the diversity of the Roman religious system operative in the Late Antique world. We would do well to include its followers as fully as possible in our discussion of the third-century landscape.

Today, fifteen Mithraea are known from archaeological evidence or, in one case, from archival excavation records (Figure 23).⁹² Eight of these have been dated to the third century: four to the first half of the third century, four to the second half of the third century.⁹³ From these numbers we can deduce that the need for a shared sacred space formed an important component – perhaps the most important component – of the Mithraic religious system. What was this system? What did followers of Mithras believe? If we are going to attempt to understand the social and cultural world of third-century Ostia, it is important to summarize exactly what we know and do not know about the cult.

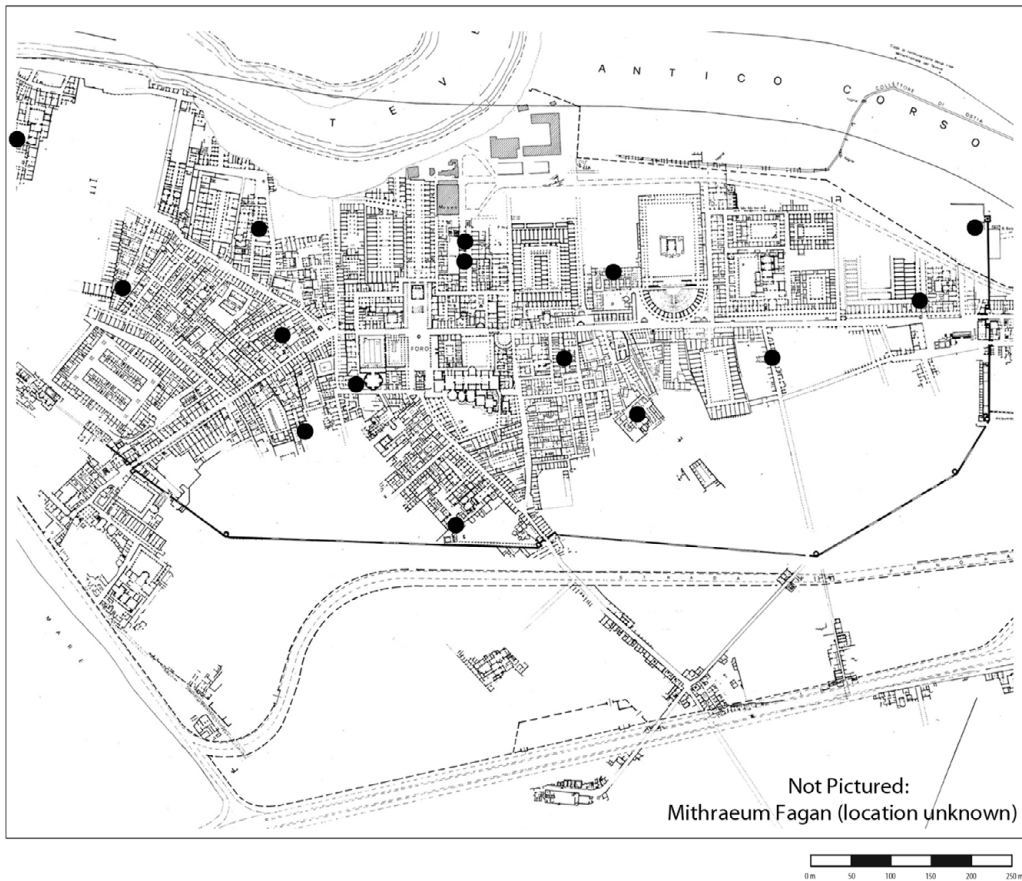
Roger Beck has now offered the most complete exegesis of the Mithraic system. Using the anthropological method advocated by Clifford Geertz in his study of religions as a cultural system, Beck has demonstrated how Mithraism’s signs and symbols – sculptural, figural, and architectural – promoted specific, and yet often multivalent, ways

⁹⁰ See Burkert 1987.

⁹¹ For Mithras as Sol Invictus, see *CIMRM* 1241–42. For further discussion, see Lincoln 1982. For the cult’s expansion, see Clauss 2000, 21–28.

⁹² The Mithraeum Fagan, named after the antiquarian painter and excavator Robert Fagan, was discovered between 1794 and 1802. Today, its precise whereabouts are unknown; see *CIMRM* 309–17.

⁹³ Before 250 CE: Mitreo di Menandro (1.3.5), the Mithraeum at the 1.17.4 (the so-called Baths of Mithras), the Mithraeum at the Porta Romana gate (2.2.5), and the possible Mithraeum at 5.12.3. After 250 CE: Mitreo di Fructosus (1.10.4), the Mitreo della Planta Pedis (3.17.2), the Mitreo di Felicissimus (5.9.1), and the Mitreo dei Serpenti (5.6.6). The most recent discussion is Bakker 1994, 111–17; see also *SdO* 2 (ed., G. Becatti); and White 1997a, 2.259–429.

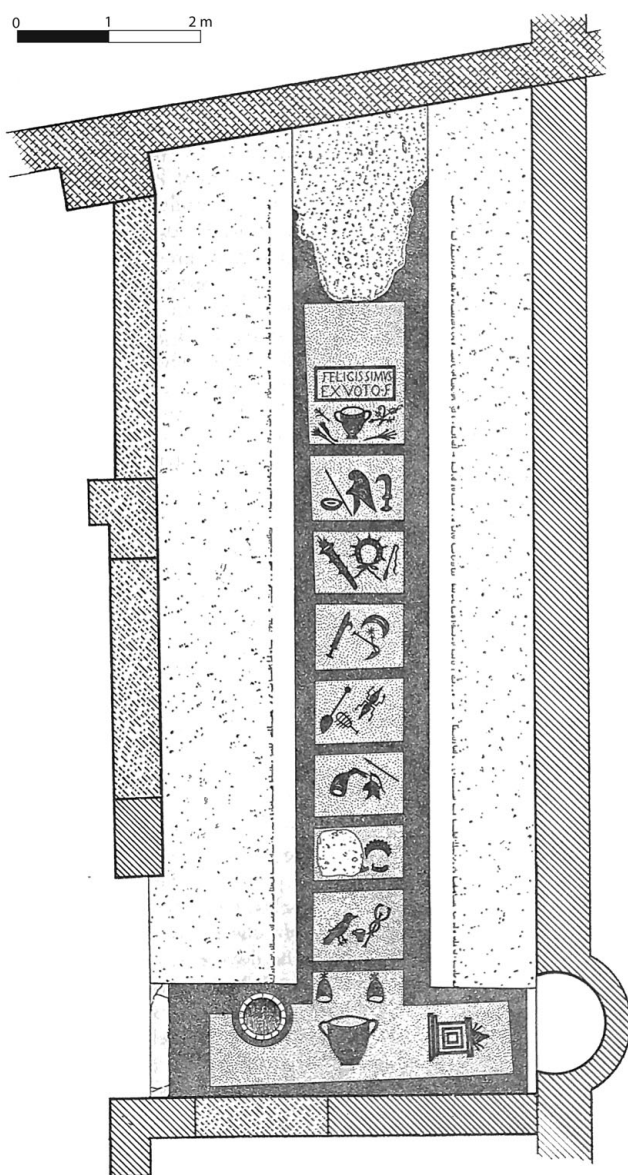


23. Plan showing the distribution of Ostia's Mithraea. After Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689.

of viewing the world for the cult's followers.⁹⁴ This approach explicitly rejects an earlier approach to iconography and sacred space that assumes one can reconstruct the exact tenets, or doctrines, of Mithraic belief from the evidence. Thus, rather than isolating individual pieces of the archaeological or textual record, such as statuary representations of Mithras slaying a bull, and then reading the fragments as a literal depiction of a creed, Beck has proposed that we treat the evidence as part of a broader symbolic framework that functioned in multiple ways for the cult's various levels of initiates. I agree with this approach.

According to Beck, the physical setting of Mithraic worship, the Mithraeum, functions a symbol of the universe and of the harmony that keeps its discordant pieces in order. Statues of Mithras as "conquering

⁹⁴ See Beck 2006, 16–25, 42–64, 67–74, and 88–98.



24. The seven grades of initiation depicted on the mosaic floor at the Mithraeum of Felicissimus (5.9.1). From *SdO* 2, fig. 22.

sun” function not as illustrations of a religious creed but as symbols of the sun’s triumph over the moon, represented by the constellation Taurus (“bull”).⁹⁵ The seven grades of cultic initiation – known, for example, from the mosaics of the Mitreo di Felicissimus (5.9.1) at Ostia (Figure 24) – may thus have represented the seven planetary spheres, or

⁹⁵ Porph. *De antr. nymph.* 18. For discussion, see Beck 2006, 102–52, 190–239.

gates, through which an initiate's soul had to pass on its journey of ascent.⁹⁶ This astral reading of the space finds resonance in epigraphic and textual evidence that compares the Mithraic hall to a cave, an image used to symbolize the universe as a whole. Still other signs and symbols of astrological significance played to these same themes.⁹⁷

In sum, the people who took part in the mysteries and cult of Mithras participated in a complex system of symbols that connoted the harmonious relationship between all these parts. It was a system organized around the centrality of the sun god, Mithras. The cult's framework of its signs and symbols, in turn, provided flexibility to its initiates, engaging them in different ways depending on their level of familiarity with the system. All of this work has provided a welcome departure from earlier studies that often tried to produce definitive reconstructions of Mithraic theology, an effort that owed more to the legacy of Christian theology than it did to a consideration of the Mithraic evidence on its own terms.⁹⁸

This last point is especially important because the Mithraic religious system supported a much more fluid, permeable structure of beliefs than has long been assumed. Its structure promoted a considerable degree of overlap within the traditional Roman religious system operating throughout the third-century town. Thus, the cult itself may never have received state funding, but that does not mean that Mithras was no less a part of Roman Ostia's traditional religious landscape than the cult of emperors, the worship of the Lares, and the acts of *pietas* performed in workshops, baths, and granaries. Mithras, just like the host of other Greco-Roman deities Olympian and non-Olympian alike, did not demand or expect exclusivity of his followers. The epigraphic and iconographic record confirms that the figure of Mithras himself was easily assimilated with the characteristics or traits of other gods: from the sun god to Attis, from Apollo to the god of time.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ See *CIMRM* 299. On the priestly grades of initiation, see Clauss 2000, 131–40. Gates like those represented by the seven planets at the Mithraeum of Felicissimus are also depicted in the floor mosaic of the eponymous Mitreo delle Sette Sfere at Ostia (2.8.6); see *CIMRM* 287–93. The foundation of this specific Mithraeum has been dated to the second half of the second century (*SdO* 2.47–51).

⁹⁷ For the textual evidence, see Porph. *De antr. nymph* 6. For epigraphic examples, see *CIMRM* 660 (“spelaeum”) and 706 (“speleum” [*sic*]).

⁹⁸ Beck 2006, 1–15.

⁹⁹ Clauss 2000, 146–67.

Often overlooked in discussions of Mithraic architecture, however, are the smaller ways that followers of Mithras could express their association with the cult, often in more intimate media. A small brooch from Ostia, now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, depicts Mithras in the act of slaughtering the bull – the iconographic scene at the center of the Mithraic religious system. Found in an uncertain context, with no indication as to the gender of its wearer, it is testimony to the fact that “followers of Mithras,” men and women, could embrace the signs and symbols of the cult to express aspects of this identity to the larger world when they saw fit.¹⁰⁰ Certainly a brooch like the one from Ostia might have been worn within the Mithraic hall, but we should not discount that it could have been worn outside the Mithraeum too, perhaps by someone who had not yet been initiated into the cult at all. Like the Ostian rings with the chi-rho, objects like these advertised aspects of an identity to friends, acquaintances, and even perhaps casual observers. Although the conversations and reactions to these images and iconographic choices may be unrecoverable to us today, we should remember that the conscious decision to advertise one’s identity is itself a glimpse at the very process by which the cult and its followers may have achieved broader social acceptance – individual by individual.

Consequently, it is no surprise that scholars who have studied the emergence of Mithraic worship spaces have found patterns of architectural adaptation that mimic the growth of collegial associations and guilds. Social factors – like having an established wealthy patron or access to available structures that may have adjoined local meeting halls – played as much of a role in the process of asserting a group’s urban identity as did any of its theological concerns.¹⁰¹ The Mithraic spaces at Ostia, in particular – like the shrines in collegial halls, household altars, and the small niches that frequently adjoined workshops – represent one more example of a vibrant Roman religious tradition practiced away from the imposing shadows of the town’s temples, on a daily level albeit on a smaller scale.¹⁰² The worship of the “unconquered” (*invictus*) sun god, in particular, could and did often overlap with other religious aspects

¹⁰⁰ For the debate about the place of women in Mithraism, see David 2000 and Griffith 2006.

¹⁰¹ White 1997a, 1.140–48. For investigations into the collegial setting of traditional Roman religious shrines, or *sacella*, see also Steuernagel 2001 and id. 2004.

¹⁰² Bakker 1994, 111–17.

of Greco-Roman culture. Cults of several third-century emperors, who promoted their assimilation with the sun god, are but one salient example, hinting at a strong overlap in the worldview of those who gathered in their city's Mithraea and those who sacrificed at the city's grander temples. It is an observation that goes a long way toward establishing both the pervasiveness of traditional religious practices throughout the third-century town and their appeal.

The question of the cult's longevity, of course, is a larger point that subsequent scholars will now need to address. It has long been known that none of Ostia's Mithraea can be securely demonstrated to have been in use during the fourth century. However, if new data from Rome can provide any hint of what awaits in Ostian studies, this picture, too, could soon change. Life at many of Rome's Mithraea is now believed to have lasted into the fifth century, and violent destruction of them was far less common than is usually assumed, notwithstanding exactly one colorful letter of Jerome that describes a deliberate act of desecration.¹⁰³ A new, careful study of material from Ostia may also soon reveal that the picture we have of the town's Mithraea may owe more to an earlier generation's assumptions about the third, fourth, and fifth centuries than to careful archaeological record keeping.

Beneath the surface: Christianity in the third century

It is within this urban landscape that we must now strain to discern the echoes of the famous decrees of Decius (r. 249–51 CE), mandating sacrifice throughout the empire. Decius's demand was that all Roman citizens sacrifice for the good of the emperor, a unifying call to action for a Roman Mediterranean populace that only a few decades earlier had been extended the gift of citizenship by Caracalla. Decius's edict was an innovative step toward standardizing the variety of local Roman imperial cult practices throughout the empire, as James Rives has shown. It created a common set of sacrifices and cult acts that brought

¹⁰³ Jer. *Ep.* 107.2; see now Bjørnebye (2007, 41–53), who documents that only three of Rome's sixteen Mithraea show signs of violent destruction; *ibid.* 54–55 (on Ostia). There is no evidence that the newly discovered Mithraeum at the Crypta Balbi was closed before the middle of the fifth century; see Ricci 2004, 164; and Sagui 2004, 175.

far-flung Roman citizens together in their worship of the emperor and his family.¹⁰⁴

Whatever the range of reactions that accompanied Decius's decree – and there is no reason to assume Christian reaction was monolithic – it is clear that the decree itself was never intended as a systematic persecution of Christianity. That has not stopped scholars from seeing the history of the third century through the eyes of all those who reacted negatively to it. These, after all, are the ones who gave voice to their opposition in the texts that have been transmitted to us.¹⁰⁵ Not surprisingly, those who chose the path of assimilation and acculturation have often proved more difficult to find, but that does not mean we should assume they never existed.

How did these events play out in third-century Ostia? It is difficult to say. There is no contemporary evidence that documents in any way or along any spectrum the range of Christian responses to the edict of Decius or to its subsequent reiteration under emperors like Valerian.¹⁰⁶ In a much later tradition, evidence tells us that a local third-century bishop named Cyriacus emerged as an important authority figure for Ostia's Christian community. Later textual sources inform us that he was martyred during the persecutions of Claudius II, but there is little way of corroborating the authenticity of these memories.¹⁰⁷ Much of what we know about early Christian Ostia, in fact, comes from the period after the third century. An unknown benefactor, for example, honored the martyred bishop's memory with a commemorative plaque and a small, roadside chapel near the town's theater (Map 1, no. 14), yet this archaeological evidence does not predate the sixth century. I will discuss it again in [Chapter 6](#). For now, as the weight of the archaeological evidence makes clear, Christianity did not alter the shape or appearance of the third-century town. The safest conclusion to reach from a social-historical point of view is to admit that during the course of the third century, Christians at Ostia had not yet achieved a visible identity throughout the town, keeping them absent from the material

¹⁰⁴ Rives 1999, 144–54.

¹⁰⁵ For these narratives, see Potter 2004, 241–46, 255–57.

¹⁰⁶ For evidence of Valerian's edict, see the *Acta Cypriani* 1: “cos qui Romanam religionem non colunt, debere Romanas caeremonias recognoscere”; see also Eus. *HE* 7.11.7.

¹⁰⁷ “ad arcum ante theatrum,” *VAureae* 2.15.

record.¹⁰⁸ That is not to deny they were absent, only that the textual traces they have left behind demand careful contextualization. This chapter concludes by providing that.

REFRAMING THE OCTAVIUS OF MINUCIUS FELIX

Set at Ostia, authored at the end of the second century or in the first decade of the third century, the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix is an apologetic dialogue that features three characters: Octavius Januarius, Caecilius Natalis, and a man named Marcus whose persona may or may not be that of the author.¹⁰⁹ As the dialogue begins, Marcus recalls the memorable time he spent at the Roman shore with that “distinguished and holy man,” “a most loyal and good companion,” Octavius.¹¹⁰ The three men have passed the day watching a group of boys pick up shells from the beach and skip them into the sea – each boy trying to surpass the throw of the others. The tone of the dialogue mirrors this playfully competitive scene; and the setting of Ostia, “a most pleasant city,” affords a suitably calm backdrop to the afternoon debate. Marcus recalls how the waters rolled in from the sea that afternoon, smoothing the seashells with the tossing of their waves.¹¹¹

Shortly thereafter, the three men walk past a statue of Serapis. As Marcus recalls, Caecilius paused in front of it and, bringing his hands to his lips, made the gesture of a small kiss. Given our understanding of the topography of the town, we might imagine that they were strolling near

¹⁰⁸ On these later traditions that purport to describe third-century CE martyrdoms at Ostia, see Dufourcq 1988, 244–49. Other purported third-century martyrs include Censorinus (*AASS* September, 518–24), Asterius (*AASS* October, 6–11, with a second tradition at *AASS* January II, 214–19), and Gaius (*AASS* February, III, 64).

¹⁰⁹ Scholars have debated whether Minucius’s text borrows from a Latin treatise by Tertullian (the *Apolegeticum*, dated to 197 CE) or vice versa. Most scholars today insist on the priority of Tertullian; for this view, see Beaujeu 1964, liv–lxvii. I follow Beaujeu, who believes that Cyprian’s *De bono patientiae* borrows heavily from the *Octavius*; and that *Octavius* was composed during the early third century (ibid. lxx–lxxii). For the alternate position, that Minucius Felix borrowed from Cyprian, see Carver 1978. Although I am amenable to this idea of dating the *Octavius* to the late third century, Carver’s article engages with only one instance of direct allusion (*De bono patientiae* 3/398.18–23 = *Oct.* 38.6) and needs further elaboration.

¹¹⁰ “nec inmerito discedens vir eximius et sanctus inmensum sui desiderium nobis reliquit,” *Oct.* 1.3; “Octavi boni et fidelissimi contubernalis memoriam recensenti tanta dulcedo et adfectio hominis inhaesit,” *Oct.* 1.1.

¹¹¹ “is lusus est testam teretem iactatione fluctuum levigatam legere de litore,” *Oct.* 3.6.

the Temple of Serapis (3.17.4), southeast of the old inner harbor and located near the mouth of the Tiber. Inscriptions reveal that this temple was central to the religious identity of the town. The highest priest of Ostia, the *pontifex* of Vulcan, oversaw the dedication of an altar there,¹¹² and Serapis was particularly venerated for his protection of the imperial house. At Ostia he may have been responsible for ensuring the successful arrival of the grain fleet, as well.¹¹³ Another possibility is that the friends walked by a statue of Serapis in a bath complex, perhaps where they had gone to bathe. Wherever we imagine that the encounter took place, it is clear that Caecilius's act of devotion would have been far from a trivial display. It was an act that Ostia's residents and visitors would have accepted as a gesture of Roman *pietas*.

That one gesture, however, elicited quite a mocking response from Caecilius's Christian friends, and their reaction cannot be downplayed. According to Marcus, Caecilius's gesture was one of the sorts of things that "a superstitious crowd [was] accustomed to do."¹¹⁴ Octavius himself is intent on persuading Caecilius to abandon the emptiness of these superstitions (lit., *superstitiosis vanitatibus*) and recognize the true religion (*veram religionem*), Christianity.¹¹⁵

It is important to stress just how radical this idea would have been to a man of Caecilius's background, or to any of the majority of Romans living in Ostia in the mid-third century. To someone in Caecilius's position, it was Christianity that would have been the paramount example of *superstitio*. That term was often used to highlight an illicit set of practices and beliefs that defied the norm of Roman religious expression. *Religio*, by contrast, was the word Romans used to describe the socially

¹¹² "Iovi [Se]rapi P[-] Atimet[us -] Epa[p]hrodit[us - ar]am(?) sua | pe[cu]nia r[estitutam] et mun[ificentia - p]osu[erunt loco conce]sso a | [-]lio Tauria[no pontifice Volkani et aed(ium) sacr(arum)]," *AE* 2004.366.

¹¹³ For Serapis and the emperor, see the Ostian *Fasti*, 127 CE. The entry records the dedication of a precinct for Serapis ("templum Sarapi") on January 24, Hadrian's birthday (Bargagli and Grosso 1997, 42–43). The choice of this word, a less precise term than *aedes* ("temple"), suggests that the Ostian sanctuary may have been home to multiple gods. If so, the temple at 3.17.4 could have been dedicated to Isis. For Serapis's relationship to Castor and Pollux, the protectors of Ostia's grain, see *AE* 1988.213. Other epigraphic evidence for the cult of Serapis is collected by Taylor (1912, 73–75). For the urban context of the Serapeum, see Mols 2007.

¹¹⁴ "Caecilius simulacro Serapidis denotato, ut vulgus superstitiosus solet, manum ori admovens osculum labii pressit," *Oct.* 2.4.

¹¹⁵ "quo[d] Caecilium superstitiosis vanitatibus etiamnunc inhaerentem disputatione gravissima ad veram religionem reformavit," *Oct.* 1.5.

acceptably form, or forms, of public worship. It helped to define them as a coherent social group.¹¹⁶ For four centuries, ancient writers such as Seneca, Valerius Maximus, and Pliny the Younger had long conceptualized Roman religious practices and Roman self-identification in these very terms, using *religio* or *religiones* to define the proper social and civic practice of religious expressions.¹¹⁷

Over time, of course, fixed boundaries could elide. The cult of Serapis itself had spawned such a host of odd practices among the people of Alexandria that Tacitus judged them all to have been overcome by *superstitio*.¹¹⁸ Such a charge was frequently used to characterize and denigrate the religious practices of foreign people, from Druids to Jews.¹¹⁹ However, if practiced properly, even foreign cults could find their place within the expansive but well-delineated realm of Roman religious traditions, after some cultural negotiation. That reflects Caecilius's view of Roman religion and society. In one highly rhetorical gesture of his own, however, Octavius had turned the entire Roman religious system on its head. The practices of *religio*, according to him, were a "laughable matter."¹²⁰

If this dialogue does reflect any hint of third-century life, I would insist that social historians would do well to imagine the baffled looks on the faces of all the men and women whose Christian friends insisted that "black" was "white" and that *pietas* was *impietas* – not the other way around.¹²¹ Octavius's extremist opinions struck at the very heart and undermined the very fibers of a civic-religious system that was centuries old. That is not to say the *Octavius* as a text is wholly unhelpful for the study of Late Antique social history. Staged between precisely two opposing sides – traditional Roman religion on the one hand, monolithic Christianity on the other – the dialogue advocates a Christian worldview that sees separation, not assimilation, as the means toward Christian

¹¹⁶ For discussion, with bibliography, see Beard et al. 1998, 1.214–44.

¹¹⁷ For discussions, see Sen. *Clem.* 2.5.1; Plin. *Pan.* 74.5; and Suet. *Iul.* 59 and *Tib.* 69.

¹¹⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 4.81.2.

¹¹⁹ Tac. *Hist.* 4.54.4; on Jews in Jerusalem, *ibid.* 5.13.1.

¹²⁰ "mea quoque opinione quae sunt dubia, ut sunt, relinquenda sunt, nec, tot ac tantis viris deliberantibus, temere et audaciter in alteram partem ferenda sententia est, ne aut anilis inducatur superstitio aut omnis religio destruat,ur," *Oct.* 13.5; "ridenda multa," *ibid.* 22.5.

¹²¹ "cohibeatur superstitio, impietas expietur, vera religio reservetur," *Oct.* 38.7. See also Tertullian ("veram religionem veri dei . . . neglegendo," *Ter. Apol.* 24.2).

social advancement and provides an important window onto how rigorously distinct from common culture at least one third-century Christian perceived his religious identity.

And yet, the success enjoyed by followers of Isis and Serapis themselves represents an entirely different model for the successful integration of a minority religious group. This model was built on broadening their movement and acquiring local patrons as a means to winning greater social status, just as the followers of Mithras would do. Many minority religious groups succeeded in finding a space for themselves in the Roman Empire in just this way, often without needing to compromise their identities at all. One of these groups was in the process of asserting a more visible social identity of their own, constructing a monumental sacred space only a stone's throw from Minucius Felix's characters as they walked the seashore.

Ostia's Jewish community in the third century

When exactly the Jewish community assumed its first monumental presence at Ostia has always been a matter of debate. The discovery of an architectural fragment with a menorah on it, as well as a series of ceramic lamps with *menorot* – all of which were discovered at the site during the 1960s – ignited this conversation.¹²² Some scholars have placed the construction of a visible, monumental synagogue as early as the second half of the first century. Others have argued for a later, perhaps mid- to late second-century date. New excavations, awaiting formal publication, may soon take this conversation in an entirely new direction.¹²³ The entire area along the seashore witnessed a radical transformation at the end of the second and the start of the third century. Ceramics from recent campaigns conducted by The University of Texas at Austin suggest that the ground was raised considerably across the site before the paving of the new seaside road, the *via Severiana*. This data, although tentative, suggests a new interpretation for the extant architecture of the building (4.17.1), a *mélange* of Roman building styles whose sequence of

¹²² For the initial discovery of the building, see Squarciapino 1961–62.

¹²³ For a first-century date, see Squarciapino (most recently, 2001) and Runesson 2001, 92. See also the review of the latter by Meyers 2002. For the site's transformation, with the first identifiably Jewish character of the building dated to the late second to third century, see White 1997a, 2.388–89.

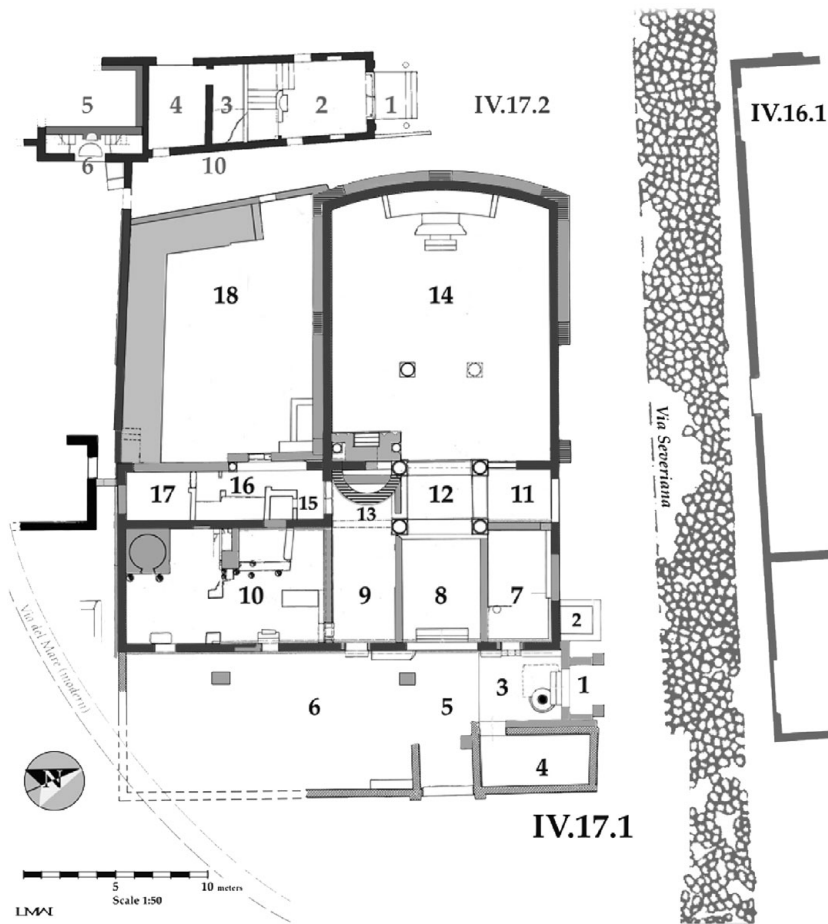
construction has puzzled scholars for decades. It cannot date any earlier than the mid- to late second century. The existence of an earlier synagogue building is now entirely conjectural.¹²⁴

How this matter is received will only become clear with the publication of detailed excavation reports. Today, scholars agree that the synagogue as we see it (Map 1, no. 5; [Figure 25](#)) was a visible part of the seaside by the early third century CE, that is, at the time when Minucius Felix wrote his text. From that point forward, the building remained an unshakeable presence on the shore, restored and in use until at least through the end of the fifth century, if not beyond, and we will revisit specific details of its architectural history in the next three chapters. The fourth century, in particular, will provide a particularly rich moment to explore one of the architectural developments within the main hall because the extant Torah shrine, or repository for the sacred scriptures, dates to that time. A general introduction to the site is appropriate here.

The building in its final Late Antique phase was distinguished by its colonnaded courtyard or atrium, east of the main hall of assembly (Room 14), and by a large communal room (Room 18) located directly south of the hall of assembly. Other rooms, whose precise functions remain unclear, including one room that may have functioned as a kitchen (Room 10), adjoined to this network of spaces. A small nymphaeum, or public fountain house, was also located to the west (Building 2). Another building, uninvestigated at present, bordered the synagogue to the south, with the previously discussed Baths of Musiciolus situated across the street.

Unfortunately, there is very little we can say about the nature of Ostia's Jewish community prior to the third century, but one piece of important epigraphic evidence does suggest that the Torah shrine of the later building may not have been the first on site. This inscription, circumstantially dated to the third century by its reuse in the fourth-century floor of the assembly hall, commemorates the donation of a sacred "ark" (κειβώτον), a repository for the Jewish scriptures. Mindius Faustus dedicated this "ark" on behalf of the health of the emperor

¹²⁴ See the summary in White, Gelb, and Boin 2012. Faunal discoveries indicate a significant component of pig bones in the lower stratigraphic levels on site. Did the building emerge as a Jewish sacred space only in its later phases? These issues await more complete publication; see White et al. 2011b, with faunal contribution by Nicolette Conti.



25. Plan of the synagogue, final phase. Courtesy of Michael White, UT-Austin/Ostia Synagogue Area Project.

(*pro salute Aug(usti)*).¹²⁵ To date, however, no archaeological trace of this feature has been found on-site, leading scholars to conclude that it may have been a wooden, or temporary, structure. The small aedicula with a set of *opus sectile* steps leading up to the extant platform was constructed in the fourth century, at the earliest.¹²⁶ The language of the Mindius Faustus dedication, however, speaks to the flexible ways by

¹²⁵ “pro salute Aug(usti) | οἰκοδόμησεν κε αἰπό|ησεν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ δο|μάτων καὶ τὴν κειβώ-
τον | ἀνέθηκεν νόμῳ ἁγίῳ | Μίνδι(ο)ς Φαῦστος ΜΕ-,” White 1997a, 2.392–94, n. 84.

¹²⁶ Squarciapino 2001, 275. A preliminary report asserts a late fourth- or early fifth-century *terminus post quem* for the niche, suggesting that the Torah shrine may have been constructed in two phases; see White et al. 2011b (numismatic contribution by Daniela Williams).

which Jewish communities could navigate Roman imperial cult practices without having to sacrifice their personal or communal practices and beliefs.¹²⁷

Jewish-Christian relations in the third century

Given the unique nature of Christianity's relationship with Judaism – and the diverse ways in which that relationship was embraced or renounced throughout the first four centuries CE into Late Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and beyond – the absence of a Jewish voice in Minucius Felix's dialogue, set at Ostia, now emerges as singularly odd. That is not to say Jews are not mentioned or discussed at various points, often in highly rhetorical terms. Caecilius characterizes them as most Romans might have, as a group of outsiders whose deity had long ago been captured by Rome and had now been brought within the larger Roman social order.¹²⁸ Octavius echoes these views, describing Jewish religious practices as *superstitio*, adopting the same language that Tacitus used to marginalize Jews within the Roman world.¹²⁹ Such a classification no doubt made sense for someone like Caecilius or Tacitus, but it is a remarkably aggressive admission on the part of a self-professed Christian. In effect, it erects a rhetorical barrier between the two kindred minority groups, each of whom had to navigate the dominant Roman world in the third century. The two groups may have worshipped the same God, as Octavius admits, but his choice of words can only be said to have promoted the idea of keeping Jews at the margins of his Christian social world.¹³⁰ In particular, his assertion that Jews “were abandoned” by God – an increasingly important theological construct of Christian apology – would not, I suggest, have been a particularly constructive one for Christian-Jewish social relations. From the perspective of internal, Christian polemic, however, such rhetoric served a powerful purpose: It reduced any social or theological

¹²⁷ See now White 2011.

¹²⁸ “Iudaeorum sola et misera gentilitas unum et ipsi deum, sed palam, sed templis, aris, victimis caerimoniisque coluerunt, cuius adeo nulla vis nec potestas est, ut sit Romanis hominibus cum sua sibi natione captivus,” *Oct.* 10.4.

¹²⁹ “sed Iudaeis nihil profuit, quod unum et ipsi deum aris atque templis maxima superstitione coluerunt,” *Oct.* 33.2.

¹³⁰ “nam et ipsi deum nostrum – idem enim omnium deus est. . . . ita prius eos deseruisse comprehendentes quam esse desertos nec, ut impie loqueris, cum deo suo captos, sed a deo ut disciplinae transfugas deditos,” *Oct.* 33.3–5.

diversity within the Christian movement to the single, unified vision of its author.

In the end, whatever Minucius Felix's reasons were for excluding Jewish voices from his Christian apologia remain unknown. What is clear is that the absence of Jews themselves from the dialogue is not a reflection of their highly visible presence in the urban landscape of Ostia. Archaeological evidence from across the Mediterranean shows that Jewish life was a thriving and often highly visible part of many Late Antique towns, and Jewish "disengagement" from Late Antique society is often a difficult proposition to sustain during this period.¹³¹ Jewish elites during the first through fourth centuries CE participated in civic life and public benefaction. They navigated their own space in Roman imperial cult activities throughout the urban centers of the Mediterranean, just as members of Ostia's Jewish community may have done, if we recall the dedication on behalf of the emperor for the donation of the Torah ark. The Ostian synagogue itself was built directly across the street from a small bath complex and an imperial villa, both of which lent the neighborhood a degree of high social visibility. Both structures were in use during the third century.

The social history of the town is thus more complete and more complex when it takes into account text and the archaeological record together; and where it is too dependent on one, like Christian sources, the hope of achieving a proper perspective falters. Nowhere has that imbalance – and need for a correction – been more striking than in recent contributions to the social history of the fourth century, long considered to have been the period of indisputable "Christian triumph."

¹³¹ For Judaism at Rome, see Rutgers 1992 and also the earlier study by Leon 1960; see also Fine 2005. For Judaism at Ostia, see also Brandt 2004, id. 2008 and White 1997b.

The fourth century: Proud temples and resilient traditions

It has taken a half century of work to excavate the fourth century from the writings of Christian hagiographers who were intent on ensuring that the legacy of Constantine, the bishops, and their successors prevailed as the narrative of the time. Any attempt to interpret the significance of fourth-century material evidence needs to take account of that scholarship. This chapter begins by doing just that. This survey is essential for gauging the history of Ostia in proper perspective.

Narratives of the fourth century

The year 313 CE was a coming-out party, of sorts. The emperor Constantine had issued an edict from the imperial residence at Milan declaring that the practice of Christianity was no longer illicit throughout the Roman Empire. Men like Marcus and Octavius, as described in Minucius Felix, did not need to fear reprisals any longer – from the governmental authorities, at least – for the open profession of their faith. Public opinion of the beliefs they held may still have swayed against them. Indeed, it would take nearly the entire century before an emperor returned to weigh in on the evolving social status of Christians living in the Roman Empire. At that point, in 380 CE, Theodosius ordered that Nicene Christianity be established as the sole and legitimate religion of the empire. Temples closed and sacrifices ceased. From the regions of eastern Turkey to the shores of Spain and North Africa, the order must have awakened social memories of the period before legalization – the period of persecution – at least for those families who counted Christians among their households two or three generations earlier.

The world presaged by Octavius, where Christianity was *vera religio* and not an unacceptable form of devotion, had become reality. For an older generation of Christians who still harbored memories of a far different time, these changes were most likely met with expressions of relief. For their children, who grew up during a period in which Christianity was a perfectly legal expression of religious devotion, the changes may have passed without any notice. In the end, the fourth century was a far different world than the one that preceded it, when an apologist like Octavius might find a small victory while debating his interlocutors. Now, it was Christianity that had won over the Roman emperor and all of Roman society. At least, that is the picture of the fourth century when presented as one of “Christian triumph.” The reality is more complicated. Based largely on textual sources, it is a curiously limited view of social history – one that leaves out as much as it reveals.

To begin, this triumphalist narrative is the product of Christian writers intent on generating a fixed point in time from which to view the events of history unfold. Some of these men, like Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea, lived during these changing times and unabashedly lauded protagonists like Constantine who effected the changes he, Eusebius, envisioned. Others, such as Rufinus of Aquileia, who lived at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, picked up many of those same themes and continued the triumphal trajectory into their own times. Today, historians have offered a more balanced account of how legislative changes affected the whole of society at the time, not just those who professed Christian faith.¹ Whether the topic is Constantine’s own “conversion,” the brief reign of Julian, Gratian’s removal of the Altar of Victory from the Curia, or Theodosius’s proscriptive “Catholic” legislation, contemporary scholarship has diminished the wider social and cultural impact of these onetime “canonical” historical events, the building blocks frequently used to construct a fourth-century narrative dominated by religious confrontations. This research has given historians and archaeologists new insights into the urban image of cities across the Mediterranean during the third, fourth, and fifth centuries – specifically, it has offered a picture of Late Antique social life that did not necessarily neglect the upkeep of its

¹ For a survey of Late Antique writers and historiographers, see Rohrbacher 2002 and Marasco 2003. For narratives of triumph, see Salzman 2010.

traditional sacred spaces, even in the face of increasingly visible Christian architecture.

THE EARLY FOURTH CENTURY

Several scholars have shed new light on the relationship between the emperor Constantine (r. 306–37 CE) and the status of Christianity in the early fourth-century empire. An earlier generation once viewed Constantine's "Edict of Milan" (313 CE) as a watershed provoking harsh opposition between adherents of an ascendant minority group, Christians, and those who supported traditional religions.² John Curran, Hal Drake, Jonathan Bardill, and others, however, have now brought a more skeptical eye to the interpretation of this decree and its aftermath. I agree with the tenor of all their research. It deserves summary.

Drake has read its promulgation of a "free ability to follow the religious practices [*religio*] of one's choosing" as a savvy diplomatic maneuver whereby the emperor used a policy of outreach to persecuted Christians in order to forge a more stable state.³ Elsner has brought a similar interpretative framework to bear on his reading of Rome's Arch of Constantine, which attributes the emperor's victory over Maxentius not to any specific divine figure but rather to an *instinctus divinitatis*. According to Elsner, the arch's visual program of juxtaposing older artworks with contemporary pieces – executed specifically for the monument – underscores how Constantine promoted continuity through tradition. The arch appropriates pieces from the Trajanic, Hadrianic, and Antonine past in order to assert the successes of the present emperor, downplaying his belief in order to frame his achievements in light of earlier emperors.⁴ The recent discovery that the colossus of Constantine from the Roman Forum, preserved today in the Capitoline Museums of Rome, had originally depicted the emperor as divine Jupiter offers further support for the role that cultural compromise played in early fourth-century society (Figure 26).⁵ This statue will become important again in the next chapter.

² The text is preserved only in pro-Christian secondhand sources: Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 48.1–12 (Latin) and Euseb. *HE* 10.5.2–14 (Greek).

³ "ut daremus et Christianis et omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem quam quisque voluisset," Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 48.2; see also Drake 2000, 32, 192–231, 245–50.

⁴ Elsner 2000, 163–75; see also Bassett 2004 and Marlowe 2006.

⁵ Presicce 2006; see now Van Dam 2011 and Bardill 2012, 203–18, an excellent new study, although space has limited my ability to discuss it here.



26. Reconstruction of the Constantine colossus, Rome. ©ArcTron 3D GmbH 2007 (www.arctron.de).

It is in spite of these conciliatory politics and eclectic artistic programs, however, that Constantine's ruling coalition did begin to unravel. Drake and others have attributed it to the increasingly assertive and intolerant attitudes of bishops, not to followers of Christianity at large.⁶ The growth in episcopal power coincided with the construction of more visible Christian architecture in Rome. Monumental churches like San Pietro in Vaticano or San Giovanni in Laterano were financed at this time.⁷ Perhaps because of these developments, earlier scholarship characterized the decades following Constantine's death – and the growth of Christian architecture – as a period during which Rome's traditional cults and

⁶ See Drake 2000, 20–32; see also essays in Lenski 2006, 111–36 and 159–82.

⁷ See Brandenburg 2004, 20–36, 92–103; see also *CBCR* 5.1–92, 171–285.

temples suffered and that any attempt to maintain them was nothing more than an attempt at religious “revival.”

THE MID-FOURTH CENTURY

Notwithstanding the anachronistic nature of these interpretations, which view fourth-century history through the eyes of the victor and not through the shaky dynamics of its time, the brief but complex reign of the emperor Julian (361–63 CE) has often borne such a label. It, too, has received new scrutiny.

Described in some textual sources as virulently anti-Christian, Julian, it seems, willingly embraced an open hostility toward this upstart cult. As evidenced in parts of his own epistolary output, he derided both it and its followers in public fashion.⁸ Glen Bowersock and John Matthews have now offered a more temperate view of the emperor’s short reign, however. Bowersock has pointed out that Julian’s overt concern for the public appearance of temples and his desire to reinstate animal sacrifice are issues specifically limited to the eastern regions of the empire, not the west.⁹ Recent archaeological surveys of Rome, for example, confirm that many of the city’s temples belie any evidence of collapse. These traditional sites remained models for the organization and beliefs of traditional Roman society,¹⁰ a point Michele Salzman has elaborated on through an analysis of the fourth-century festival calendar. There was very little discernible transformation in religious practices in the capital during this time.¹¹ In fact, very little archaeological change can be detected anywhere, in either east or west, in the narrow window of three years.

That said, it does appear that local priests in the Roman cities of the eastern Mediterranean, who were responsible for funding religious festivals and maintaining their social position in town, may have begun to channel their money toward more chariot races and games during this time.¹² Draining their coffers to fund public spectacles, they then lacked the extra money needed for large displays of religious sacrifice – one of Julian’s primary concerns in the region. When viewed through the commentary of Ammianus Marcellinus, who was writing in Rome

⁸ For example, *Lib. Or.* 18.126, and *Jul. Ep.* 26.415C–D.

⁹ Bowersock 1978, 79–93.

¹⁰ Meneghini 2003, 1049–50.

¹¹ Salzman 1990, 227–31.

¹² Bradbury 1995, 347–55.

during the fourth century, Julian's initiatives in the eastern regions of the empire do not, therefore, especially stand out for their anti-Christian or pro-traditional overtones. Rather, as Matthews has demonstrated, it is Julian's "superstitious" nature, which Ammianus identifies, that was the emperor's dominant character flaw. That is, it was the emperor's *excessive* piety that distinguished his short reign.¹³ Accordingly, it has been suggested that Julian's rule is only remarkable in a social-historical context for the actions and writings of his colorful personality, and I support that conclusion. To my mind, none of these sources provides any secure piece of evidence for the extinction of traditional cults, temples, or practices prior to Julian. The social history of the mid-fourth century cannot be written from the letters and treatises of an emperor who ruled for three years.

THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY

None of the research reviewed would deny that the late fourth century was a time of significant changes. Legislative acts, imperial decrees, and personal predilections of the emperor Gratian (r. 375–83 CE), for example, have often featured prominently in the narrative of this time period.

According to the early sixth-century historian Zosimus, it was Gratian who was the first Roman imperial ruler to disavow use of the title *pontifex maximus*. This was a form of nomenclature that had distinguished the emperor as chief priest of Rome for centuries, and it was one that the emperor had apparently found incompatible with his Christian identity, at least according to the early sixth-century writer.¹⁴ Information gleaned from sources closer to the time do suggest that Gratian's legislation and the emperor's administrative decisions struck at the historic alliance between traditional cults and the Roman state. In 382 CE, according to the later compilation known as the *Theodosian Code*, Gratian seemingly banned the use of imperial funds for the daily rituals and maintenance at city temples. I follow Rita Lizzi Testa, however, who has proposed that this legislation was much more limited, affecting only the property of the vestal virgins, not all cults.¹⁵ What is more, in that same year, the

¹³ On Julian's *superstitio*, see Amm. Marc. *RG* 22.12.6 and 25.4.17; see also Matthews 1989, 81–114.

¹⁴ Zosimus 4.36; see further discussion later in this chapter.

¹⁵ *CTh* 16.10.20. This edict, portending dramatic changes to the social structures that had long administered Rome's temples, unfortunately survives only as a reference in a law

emperor ordered the removal of the Altar of Victory from the Senate house, an order that generated impassioned pleas both in defense of the act and in support of the status quo. Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, and Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, a Roman senator, each pleaded their case to the imperial house; but the emperor remained steadfast in his decision. Ambrose interpreted his verdict as a seminal victory for Christianity in its struggle against the traditional gods, confirmed by Prudentius in the *Contra Symmachum*.¹⁶

Notwithstanding the singular importance that each of these developments played in the transformation of late Roman society seen from the top, recent scholarship here, too, has cautioned against the idea of any direct and immediate social or cultural change in the wake of Gratian's policies. As Alan Cameron demonstrated in his study of Zosimus, the chronology of the historian's reporting is by no means secure. A surviving inscription from Rome also specifically identifies Gratian with the priestly title he rejected. Dated roughly to 370 CE, scholars have traditionally seen this text as a *terminus post quem*, providing a date after which Gratian must no longer have used the title.¹⁷ I believe that the inscription, as an artifact, tells us slightly more about the time. Located on the footbridge crossing Tiber Island, the modern Ponte Cestio, it remained in situ at this highly trafficable urban intersection for 1,500 years until French forces threw it into the river in the battle for the Italian state.¹⁸ The durability of the monument within the Roman cityscape – and the memory of the emperor as “Chief Priest” that it communicated, until the nineteenth century – complicates the ways in which we talk about how

of 415 CE, a detail of transmission that complicates our understanding of its original publication and enforcement. Zosimus assigns the decree to Theodosius I (*NH* 4.59.2). The chronology of Zosimus's account may be confused because Theodosius did not come to Rome immediately after defeating Eugenius (Cameron 1969, 250–51). Despite this conflicting evidence, modern narratives continue to cite Gratian, not Theodosius, as the agent of this fourth-century decision. I am preparing my own treatment of this issue, focusing on the role that Zosimus has played in the reconstruction of these debates. It is possible that the historian has fabricated the episode to criticize the sixth-century emperor Anastasius. Lizzi Testa (2007, 255–58) has suggested only the vestals' property was involved.

¹⁶ Amb. *Ep.* 17–18 (to Valentinian II) and Sym. *Rel.* 3.

¹⁷ Cameron 1968, 96. Cameron has also suggested (2007, 364–72) that over the course of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, the title *pontifex maximus* was undergoing a transformation, with the use of *inclitus* beginning to replace *maximus*.

¹⁸ *CIL* 6.1175. For discussion with bibliography, see Cameron 2011, 51–56, 644–54.

the late Roman populace perceived its rulers.¹⁹ The same can be said for the Temple of Saturn in the Roman Forum, outside the Curia. It was restored in the last quarter of the fourth century, just as an intense “culture war” was being fabricated and fought over the fate of a small altar in the Senate.²⁰ In both instances, I suggest, we have been too eager to swallow the “Beltway narrative” of late Roman history. The city projects a far different model of late fourth-century society.

Indeed, as Neil McLynn and Cristiana Sogno have shown, the textual sources pertaining to the removal of the Altar of Victory are more reflective of the ideologies of the parties involved than they are unbiased journalism of a purported fourth-century “conflict.” McLynn has studied how Ambrose himself collected, presented, and ultimately preserved this series of imperial exchanges as a tool for the promotion of his own status among the Christian community in Milan.²¹ Similarly, Sogno, in her study of the Roman senator’s literary oeuvre, has proposed that Symmachus’s own interest in the issue stemmed, in part, from his desire to secure imperial favor for his tenure as urban prefect.²² Considering these caveats, I agree with McLynn and others who now view the episode of the altar not only as a political and religious construct of the bishop of Milan but also as a late fourth-century event whose wider social and cultural significance was limited, not catastrophic.²³

By the 390s CE, nevertheless, the emperor Theodosius, acting independently of Gratian in the east, effected the strongest changes yet on behalf of “Catholic Christianity,” the profession of Christianity agreed on at the Council of Nicea in the first quarter of the fourth century. The most proscriptive of these laws appeared on February 28, 380 CE. Addressed specifically to the people of Constantinople, Theodosius’s decree established Nicene Christianity as the religion of the state and prohibited the worship of the traditional gods.²⁴ The succession of laws that followed this pronouncement, however, has usually caused scholars to question the effectiveness of the original decree. In 391–92 CE, a law circulated that deemed animal sacrifice illegal and forbade the

¹⁹ A more complete study of this topic by the author is forthcoming.

²⁰ Pensabene 1984, 45.

²¹ McLynn 1994, 166–67.

²² Sogno 2006, 45–54.

²³ For example, Ebbeler and Sogno 2007, 240–41.

²⁴ *CTh* 16.1.2.

visitation of temples, two activities that apparently continued even after the emperor's earlier decree.²⁵ A trail of similar, redundant legislation leads into the first decades of the fifth century. With this series of final legislative blows, traditional religious practices – after waning during the decades after Constantine and through Gratian's reign – finally disappeared from Mediterranean cities; that, at least, is the official narrative as read from the pages of the *Theodosian Code*. But what did these laws mean for daily life? How were they enforced? How often were they applied?

John Matthews has addressed the lack of contextualization that often creates problems for scholars who use the *Theodosian Code* as historical evidence. Conceived in 429 CE, the collection was assembled by a team of imperial workers who presented the finished volume to Emperor Theodosius II in Constantinople nine years after they had begun.²⁶ As Matthews elucidates, the disparate geographical and administrative nature of the archival sources, from cities across the Mediterranean – some preserved only within local or imperial archives – belies the image of unity that the finished project aimed to represent.²⁷ In particular, Matthews has drawn attention to several facets of the ancient publication process that modern scholars often omit in their citation of fourth- or fifth-century legislation, such as the geographic origin of a law, the name or names of the imperial officials to whom the law was addressed, and the place where it was eventually received.²⁸

These administrative details often vary from law to law, and any one of them may have affected its promulgation. The process of publication, for example, involved writing the law on paper, painting it on linen, or chiseling it in stone in order to display a copy in town. In modern scholarship, however, there is often a “leveling” of the legislative evidence that distorts the local, or limited, nature of many of these decrees. The transient nature of the first two options, the most common for legal displays, frequently subjected these texts to the wear and tear of the elements.²⁹ Meanwhile, enforcement was squarely in the hands of local officials, who were required to navigate their own mazes of social commitments and connections in bringing charges.

²⁵ *CTh* 16.10.10–12.

²⁶ Matthews 2000, vii, 1–7.

²⁷ Matthews 2000, 280–93.

²⁸ Matthews 2000, 169–99.

²⁹ Matthews 2000, 187–90.

In sum, without denying the value of the *Theodosian Code* as a source for the study of fourth- and fifth-century society, the nature of these imperial decrees, the circumstances of individual publication, and the broader program that lay behind the actual collection raise serious doubts about the uniformity of practices across the Mediterranean at the time. Thus, I believe that the legislative changes wrought by Constantine or Julian, Gratian, and Theodosius never produced the neat, tidy, and immediate disappearance of Rome's traditional religious practices at the end of fourth century.³⁰ New research on the so-called "pagan" revival at Ostia has now provided support for that approach.

THE LATE FOURTH-CENTURY "PAGAN" REVIVAL

There is one site at Ostia that many social historians have stepped gingerly around in treatments of the late fourth century because it has long seemed unique, a testament to ideological confrontation and a refutation of the social-historical picture just surveyed. That site is Ostia's so-called Temple of Hercules (1.15.5, see Map 1, no. 8), long suspected to have been the rallying point for a virulent "pagan" revival at the end of the fourth century. The evidence deduced for that interpretation was an inscription dated to the late fourth century.³¹ Herbert Bloch published the complete text of it with restorations in an influential article in 1945. The inscription reads as follows:

For our masters, Theodosius, Arcadius and Eugenius, forever pious (*pīi*), blessed Emperors (*Augusti*), victors over the whole world, Numerius Proiectus, a *vir clarissimus* and prefect of the grain supply, restored the "*cella Hercu[li]*." ³²

By funding and, more importantly, advertising the restoration of an ancient temple of Hercules ("*cellam Hercu[li]*") at Ostia, Bloch thought that the sponsors of the restoration were attempting to influence public opinion by opposing the ruling Christian factions. According to his

³⁰ Consider the riots in support of traditional religious practices that took place in Sufes, North Africa, in 399 CE (Aug. *Ep.* 50); or the riots that may have followed the celebration of a festival in Calama, North Africa, in 408 CE (Aug. *Ep.* 90–91, 103–04).

³¹ Bloch 1945; see also Bloch 1963.

³² "[Domini]s n[ost]ris Th[eodosio] Arca[di]o et Eu[genio] |[pi]is felicibus [toto] orbe victoribus semper [Aug(ustis)] |[.] Numerius Proiect[us] v(ir) c(larissimus) praef(ectus) ann(onae) cellam Hercu[li] restituit," *AE* 1948 n. 127 [= *AE* 1941 n. 66]. "Temple of Hercules" is Bloch's translation (1945, 201–02).

interpretation, in 393–94 CE, this “pagan” revival was rallying around Eugenius, who sought to wrestle power away from Theodosius. In 394 CE at the Frigidus River, on the border between Italy and modern Slovenia, Theodosius defeated the usurper. Calling the Ostian inscription a “new document” in “[t]he final phase of this struggle,” Bloch framed his subsequent discussion of it in light of archaeological evidence suggesting the Temple of Hercules was the most historic sacred monument at Rome’s old harbor and proposed that the temple was a fitting, powerful symbol for a “pagan party” eager to establish the cultural force of its own historic roots.³³

As recent studies have shown, the masonry evidence from the temple at 1.15.5 does suggest that it was restored in the late fourth century.³⁴ As I have now shown, however, the archaeological evidence can no longer sustain Bloch’s interpretation of events.³⁵ First, the temple at 1.15.5 may have been erroneously attributed to Hercules at the time of its discovery. It may have been the location of Ostia’s most revered sanctuary, which textual sources inform us was dedicated to Vulcan. Second, although it is true that Hercules’ cult did play a role in the daily life of the town, as minor artifacts such as lamps attest,³⁶ the language used in the Hercules inscription suggests that it did not come from a sanctuary space at all. On the basis of another appearance of the word “cella” in the Late Antique epigraphic record, I have assigned it to a bath complex, perhaps the baths at the Porta Marina gate. These baths were restored in the late fourth century, with expanded rooms (*cellae*) on the inside and space added outside for the sun.³⁷ It was there at the shore in the 1770s that the Scottish painter Gavin Hamilton found four statues of the Labors of Hercules (Figures 27–30). These statues, now in the Vatican Museums, may have decorated a hall of the Late Antique baths. Rather than giving signs of a “pagan” revival, the Hercules inscription reveals that both baths

³³ Bloch 1945, 202.

³⁴ Heres 1982–83, 422–24. This point, however, is not mentioned by Cameron (2011, 90).

³⁵ See Boin 2010a.

³⁶ Note also a highly fragmentary inscription whose find spot is unknown: “C(aio) Cartilio — | duovir se — | Hercul(ano) a(ugustali),” *CIL* 14.315 [= *CIL* 14.4254]. Rieger (2004, 230–31) interprets the text as evidence for a collegial group associated with Hercules.

³⁷ “thermas maritimas intreseus refectione cellarum foris soli adiectione | d[omini] n[ostri] Valens Gratianus et Valentinianus victor[es] ac | triumph[atores] semper Au[gusti] | Proculo Gregorio v[iro] c[larissimo] praefecto annon[ae] urbis Romae | curante decorarunt,” *CIL* 14.137 [= *ILS* 5694]. See also Hamilton and Smith 1906.



27. Hercules from Ostia. Currently in the Sala degli Animali, Vatican Museums. DAI-Rome 1104.

and traditional sacred spaces held a position of cultural prominence in the fourth-century city.

In short, we would do well to approach fourth-century Ostia without preconceived notions of a ruined religious landscape. For just as Minucius Felix's character Caecilius said, "Look to the temples and shrines of the gods by which the Roman state is both protected and honored,"³⁸ I suggest that we will only begin to counter the uncomplicated memories of "Christian triumph" by moving the traditional landscape of the city to

³⁸ "intende templis ac delubris deorum, quibus Romana civitas et protegitur et ornatur," *Oct.* 7.4.



28. Hercules from Ostia. Currently in the Sala degli Animali, Vatican Museums. DAI-Rome 1107.

the foreground of the study *before* we chart the social and architectural developments of fourth-century Christianity. The first step is to examine continuities and changes between third- and fourth-century Ostia.

Ostia from the third century to the fourth

It is clear that some third-century monuments were appropriated during this time and put to other uses throughout the town. A marble base,



29. Hercules from Ostia. Currently in the Sala degli Animali, Vatican Museums. DAI-Rome 769.

originally erected to honor the emperor Probus (c. 281 CE), was used to close a passageway in the Porta Marina Baths. Similarly, sometime at the start of the fourth century, an altar dedicated during the reign of Gallienus (r. 260–68 CE) was inscribed on its opposing face and set up in honor of the “Unconquered Hercules.”³⁹ These inscriptions may have been turned upside down or displayed with their backs to the past in secondary contexts throughout the town, but that does not mean we

³⁹ For Probus, see Laubry and Poccardi 2009. For P. Flavius Priscus, who lived under the reign of Gallienus, see Bloch 1945, 200; see also *CIL* 14^S.4452, 5335, and 5340.



30. Hercules from Ostia. Currently in the Sala degli Animali, Vatican Museums. DAI-Rome 1121.

need to view Ostia as having been irreversibly ruptured, overturned, or irrevocably changed.⁴⁰

By the late third century, Aurelian (r. 270–75 CE) had inaugurated an entirely new forum. Known today only from textual sources, its location is still unidentified, but the investment in Ostia's cityscape suggests an economy that demanded space for transacting business at the cusp

⁴⁰ See Elsner 1999, 1–23.



31. Gold aureus of Maxentius, Ostian mint, 308–312 CE. Obverse: “Maxentivs P F Aug.” Reverse: “Temporvm Felicitas Aug N.” British Museum AN322852, R.243 (type *RIC* 6.5, 401).

of the fourth century.⁴¹ Within decades, Maxentius (r. 306–12 CE) would bring a mint to Ostia for the first time in the city’s history.⁴² While it functioned, residents and workers of the town must have been busy striking bronze, silver, and gold coins, all of which proudly bore their city’s mintmark (Figure 31). Distributed throughout the empire, these coins advertised images of the ruler, as well as signs like those of Romulus, Remus, and the she-wolf, all of which were chosen to highlight the important connection between the period of Maxentius and Rome’s glorious past.

Ostia, in effect, was at the center of the emperor’s campaign to bridge past and present, a fact that must have engendered a not-insignificant amount of city pride. This mint continued to function through the first years of the reign of Constantine (r. 306–37 CE), at which point the emperor transferred it to Arles. We need not see its disappearance as a sign of catastrophic social or economic collapse. By the time it closed, some

⁴¹ “forum nominis sui in Ostiensi ad mare fundare coepit, in quo postea praetorium publicum constitutum est,” *SHA* Aurelian 45.2.

⁴² Calabria 2001.

workers had likely developed the skills needed to allow them to collaborate with local sculptural workshops, designing and executing imperial portraits of luminaries like Constantine's father, Constantius Chlorus.⁴³ At Ostia, for example, the production of portraiture continued at least through the fourth century.⁴⁴ The people who labored in these workshops are yet one more indication of the range of nonelite Romans who populated the Late Antique city, living and working alongside those who managed the import of grain during the fourth century. Together, they were joined by the members of the senatorial elite who were privileged enough to have one of their many residences at Ostia. By the fourth century, then, all of these people lived in an extraordinarily multilayered city. Understanding the surface of that palimpsest is essential for investigating how Ostia's residents and sojourners negotiated and constructed their social identities.

Ostia's Capitulum in the fourth century

If there is one urban node that represents the best starting point for unpacking how Ostia's past influenced the construction of identities, that place is the city's Forum. Today, scholarly interest in the public spaces of Late Antique Rome and Ostia is flourishing. In Rome, renewed attention has now been given to the continuation of the epigraphic habit throughout the Forum Romanum, where contemporary Late Antique monuments like arches and columns engaged with sites of such historical importance as the Curia and Rostra and together fostered a memory of Rome's glory that continues through the present.⁴⁵ Scholars have traditionally approached Ostia's Forum, by contrast, with a different set of expectations.⁴⁶ The excavation of Ostia's Capitulum provides an excellent illustration of those approaches.

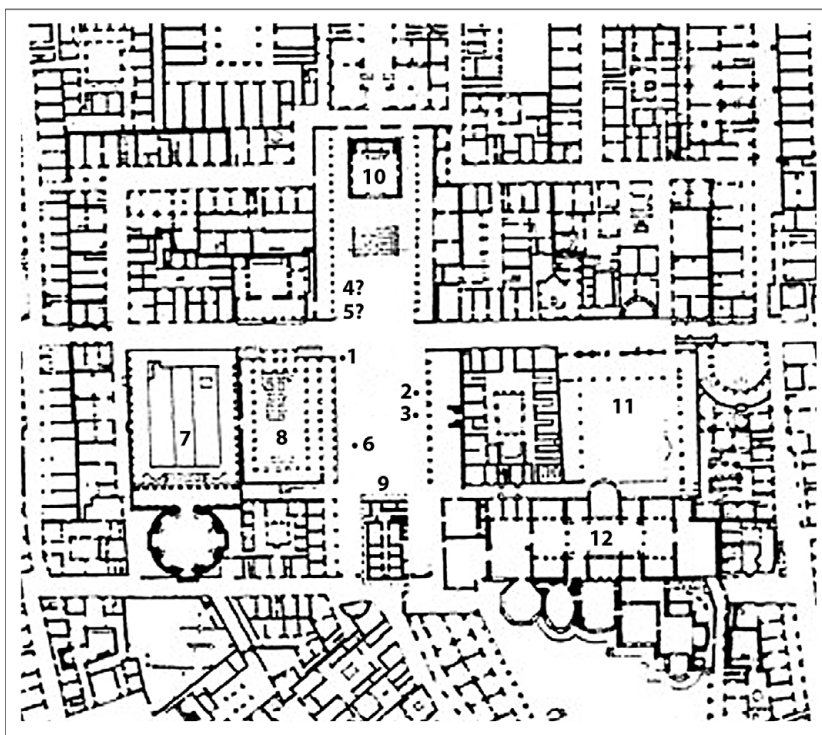
The Capitulum is the crownlike jewel that has towered over Ostia since the prosperous second century (Map 1, no. 9; [Figure 32](#)). Russell Meiggs's description of it still evokes the purported pinnacle of Rome's economic empire:

⁴³ Romeo 1999, 201–03, 209–20. See also Bakker 2010 (contribution by E. Taylor).

⁴⁴ Ostia's Late Antique portraiture is largely unstudied. For evidence through the third century, see *S/O 9* (ed. Calza-de Chirico 1977) and individual studies such as Squarciapino 1950 (portrait of Valens).

⁴⁵ See Kalas 2010; see also Machado 2006.

⁴⁶ See now Gering, Kaumanns, and Lavan 2011.



- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Publius Attius Clementius inscription | 7. The so-called Round Temple |
| 2. Ragonius Vincentius Celsus inscription | 8. Basilica |
| 3. Ragonius Vincentius Celsus inscription | 9. The Temple of Roma and Augustus |
| 4. Constantius II and Constans inscription | 10. The Capitolium |
| 5. Unknown imperial inscription | 11. The so-called Late Antique Forum |
| 6. Manlius Rusticianus inscription | 12. The Forum Baths |

32. The fourth-century CE Forum at Ostia. The position of the Celsus inscriptions is approximated. Modified from Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689.

[T]he Hadrianic Capitolium at the north end of the Forum was the richest [of Ostia's monuments] in the variety of marbles it used. The walls were lined with *luna*, large fluted columns of *pavonazetto* (sic) were used for the porch. The threshold was a solid block of *africano*. The floor of the cella was paved with a geometric pattern of variegated marbles, with *giallo antico* from Numidia predominant.⁴⁷

Today, the mere mention of these exotic stones – from *giallo antico*, “a salmon-honey-colored Numidian marble” from Chemtou, Tunisia,⁴⁸ to purple-veined *pavonazetto* – still conjures a fanciful image of the emperor

⁴⁷ Meiggs 1973, 73.

⁴⁸ Wilson Jones 2000, 63.

touring the provinces, exploiting their resources, and building a monument to the power and reach of Rome. It is easy to see how the Capitolium came to symbolize Rome's ascent during a time of political, economic, and social prosperity. The temple, according to brick stamps, was built in the second quarter of the second century CE. Its architecture speaks to its time and to our own fascination with Ostia.⁴⁹ Like the towering vaults of the Porta Marina Baths, it has for centuries been the grave marker of a buried society.

For that reason, perhaps not surprisingly, it was here that the first systematic excavation of Ostia Antica began in 1802 under the aegis of Pius VII. That period led to the recognition that the area around the temple was the town's old Forum, an identification that would drive the study of Ostia for the next century and half, as subsequent campaigns sought to reveal adjoining parts of the city center.⁵⁰ In the eyes of Giuseppe Petrini, however, director of this first campaign, the high walls of the unidentified building and the mound of dirt also marked something else: visions of an entire city, sealed like a tomb, whose grave goods were waiting to be brought to light.⁵¹ By the time excavation came to a close, two years later, Petrini and his colleagues had uncovered imperial portraiture, inscriptions, and architectural fragments that soon enhanced the Vatican collections. The walls of the temple that had inspired their search now presided majestically over the cleared landscape (Figure 33).⁵²

What has remained hidden in broad daylight ever since was the amount of evidence uncovered at the time that testifies to the Capitolium's appearance in Late Antiquity. Thanks to the efforts of Pietro Holl, who in 1804 drafted a plan of the Petrini excavations, we are in a surprisingly good position to reconstruct what they saw. For Holl not only sketched the area of the excavated city, furnishing the footprint of early excavations at Ostia Antica. He included a legend in its upper left-hand corner that describes the state of the monuments as they were revealed. Today, this plan with its legend is preserved in the Ostia archives and provides a

⁴⁹ Paschetto 1912; see also Bloch 1947, 346–47.

⁵⁰ See Bignamini 2001; see also Marini Recchia, Pacchiani, and Panico 2001.

⁵¹ Fea 1802; see also Guattani 1805, 105–11, tav. 21–23.

⁵² Nineteenth-century archaeologists had attributed the building to Vulcan, a reasonable inference based on the abundance of textual sources attesting to that god's preeminence at Ostia, as I describe in Chapter 6. In 1907 A. J. van Buren, on the basis of research on the form and development of Roman city centers throughout the Mediterranean, challenged that claim, and his identification has remained since; see also Badgeley 1929.



33. Capitulum, c. 1914, Archivio Fotografico, Ostia Antica A2427.

valuable clue for understanding the condition of the Forum monuments as they survived from antiquity. Holl's description of the Capitulum is particularly revealing. It is "the square building, whose remains stand 13.4 m above ground, with square and semicircular niches on the interior."⁵³ His description continues:

It is noticed to have been dressed with mixed marbles with a cornice of *giallo antico* and pavement of similar mixed marbles. On the sides of the exterior, it was decorated with pilasters of *cipollino*, fixed in place by metal pivots. The staircase led up to a colonnade of *giallo antico* [now identified as *pavonazzetto*], each column having a diameter of 1.1 m, on top of which must have risen the huge cornice, of the best craftsmanship, found right there [on top of the stairs].⁵⁴

As should be clear, this description of the site in 1802–04 provided the basis for Meiggs's evocative image of the Capitulum marbles as they

⁵³ Measurements on the plan are given in *palmi* [= *pmi*], with the following scale: 1 Roman foot (*canne romane*) = 10 *palmi* (*pmi*) = 2.234 meters. The height of the Capitulum is approximately 17 meters (*SdO* 1.56). Holl's measurement is slightly flawed. Scholars have also emended his description of the marble columns on the porch.

⁵⁴ Number 11: "edificio quadrilungo, che resta sopraterra all'altezza di *pmi* con nicchie quadre e semicirculari nell'interno, il quale si scorge esser stato impellicciato al di dentro di marmi mischi con cornice di giallo antico, e pavimento di marmi simili mischi e nell'esterno lateralmente ornato di pilastri risaltati di cipollino, fermati da perni di metallo. Gradinata, che saliva al portico con colonne scannellate di giallo antico di diametro 5 *pmi* su delle quali esservi doveva il cornicione di ottimo intaglio ivi rinvenuto," Holl 1804, Archivio Disegni inv. 71, Ostia Antica.

were erected in the second century. In short, we would not have our information about the glory of the second-century building were it not for the fact that much of the original building remained in situ throughout Late Antiquity until the early nineteenth century.

The amount of evidence recorded at the time, some of it now lost, is staggering. Polychrome marble pavement arranged in a geometric pattern similar to that of the Pantheon's floor was found in the cella. Recorded in a contemporary drawing, the fragments of the floor quickly disappeared, providing a graphic reminder that efficient modern robbers, not just the passage of time, bear at least some of the blame for Ostia's dilapidated state. One of Pius VII's motivations for organizing the 1802–04 campaign, in fact, had been his desire to prevent any further looting of the site, perhaps as a way to protect papal patrimony.⁵⁵ The loss of the Capitoli-um floor as a result of these excavations is an ironic turn of events. Up until today, fragments of columns at the top of the podium have remained on site. These fragments have even furnished a set of data for testing the hypothesis that portions of an enormous architrave and frieze found nearby could have belonged to the temple's superstructure. It has now been shown that they did.⁵⁶ Today, they have been reconstructed along the eastern side of the Forum.

All of this data raises questions that go to the heart of the appearance of the Forum in Late Antique Ostia. What happened to the Capitoli-um during those years? What was its impact on life in the later town, and when precisely did it collapse, depriving Ostia of its civic, religious, and architectural focal point? The questions are difficult to answer, but I propose one way forward: by examining the epigraphic, sculptural, and architectural evidence found in the Forum at the time of its excavation. This evidence reveals the continued use of the city center as a site for monumental and public self-presentation during the fourth and fifth centuries, a fact that has been confirmed by recent excavation. Several shops around the Forum, particular those on the east side, were repaved in the fifth century.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *SdO* 1.27–33 and 139. See also Paschetto 1912, 357–65, fig. 100.

⁵⁶ The measurements of the columns and their intercolumniation accord well with the proportions of the architecture that Mark Wilson Jones has documented for building practices in Hadrianic Rome; see Albo 2002, 374–87. Note that a new study has suggested a date for the planning and construction of the “Hadrian” Pantheon during the Trajanic period; see Hetland 2007.

⁵⁷ Gering et al. 2011, 416–49 (three rooms on the northeast of the Forum).

Ostia's Forum

The Capitolium formed only one part of the monumental assembly that was the architectural and spatial heart of the city (see [Figure 29](#)). To the east lay the Decumanus Maximus, the intramural extension of the via Ostiensis that led back to the Porta Ostiensis of Rome; shops along the northeastern side of the forum and a large city bath complex along the southeast framed the access way. This main east-west artery of the town continued beyond the west of the Forum, as well, where it forked and led to the sea. Shops in the northwest and the town's basilica in the southwest were the prominent features of this side of the Forum area.

Behind the Capitolium was a colonnaded street, an extension of the town's *Cardo Maximus*, which led to the river. These two nodes and the monumental road between them, situated on axis with the Capitolium, provided a powerful venue for the pomp and circumstances of early imperial arrivals along the riverfront.⁵⁸ The southern extension of this road was not, at least in Ostia's later periods, on axis with the built environment of the Forum.⁵⁹ By the first decades of the first century CE, whatever road and gate that had been associated with the earlier shape of the Forum had been demolished to make room for a temple to Roma and Augustus, located along the Forum's southern side.⁶⁰ The *Cardo* entered and exited the Forum to the southeast.

Recognizing how all these buildings interacted with one another as an assembly, not as isolated monuments, is the first step toward recovering some of the power of the Late Antique space. Several of these buildings, such as the Temple of Roma and Augustus or the basilica on the western side of the Forum, had already been in place for nearly a century or more, and by the fourth century it is likely that not all of them would have been in pristine condition. Today, unfortunately, because of the poorly preserved state of several of their remains, we can only guess about their appearance in antiquity. Nothing remains from the Temple of Roma and

⁵⁸ Spurza 2002.

⁵⁹ Gessert (2001, 114–26) has shown that Ostia's Forum assumed its “canonical” state, that is, with a Capitolium placed at the intersection of the *Cardo* and *Decumanus*, only during the Augustan period.

⁶⁰ On the discovery of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, see Lanciani 1888; see also Marini Recchia et al. 2001; and Marini Recchia et al. 2002; Calandra 2000; and Nucci 2002. The reconstructions of the building have largely depended on drawings made on-site by Gismondi after the excavation (*SdO* 1.115–22). See now Calandra 2000, 425–30, 448–49, for the study of an earlier set of drawings by T. A. Gorski.

Augustus apart from its substructures, a fact that led the excavator Guido Calza to hypothesize that the building had been constructed entirely out of marble and had been completely despoiled over time because of it.⁶¹ That is as good a guess as any, but it does not tell us anything about the monument at a specific point in time.

I would caution that we should not expect to find a perpetually pristine architectural landscape at any time in antiquity. The restoration of temples throughout Roman history, dating back to the early Republic, was always dependent on the specific choices made by individuals who wanted to invest old buildings with new meaning. Temple restoration, seen within this broader framework, was not an inevitable feature of the social-political landscape of urban life.⁶² In this way, it might not be surprising to learn in coming years that one or more temples at Ostia had fallen into disrepair by the fourth century. As individuals made social decisions to renew specific features of that cityscape, however, it is clear that the resulting urban space would have been a natural pastiche of old and new. Both fourth-century columns and first-century capitals, for example, were used in the later phases of the synagogue.⁶³ Architectural fragments recently discovered in the excavations of the so-called Late Antique Forum were also despoiled to make repairs to the building during the first half of the fifth century. These came from the Temple of Roma and Augustus in the Forum.⁶⁴ Rather than see them as a mark of the Forum's irrevocable decay, however, I would propose that they are signs of the same kind of cyclical, selective architectural transformation that had long characterized Rome's urban landscapes, where the past and present, both ruined and restored, had been juxtaposed for centuries.⁶⁵ The scale of these developments, of course, says much about the changing nature of Late Antique urbanism, and we should not downplay them. Rome itself witnessed some particularly dramatic juxtapositions during

⁶¹ Calza 1925, 31–32; see also id. 1926, 156–60. The temple's first phase has been dated to the Augustan period. Calandra (2000, 442–43) records other mathematical, architectural, and aesthetic similarities to Augustan temples.

⁶² On the Republican period, see Orlin 1997, 33–34. For the Late Antique context of urban temples, see Christie 2006, 93–94, 192–98, and 204–27.

⁶³ For the fourth-century capitals at the Torah niche, see *SdO* 7.109–10, n. 399, tav. 41 (ed. Pensabene, 1973). For the first-century capitals used with the columns of the atrium, see *SdO* 7.85–86, nos. 138–58.

⁶⁴ Gering et al. 2011, 429.

⁶⁵ See also Kalas 2010.

this time. While the Forum of Trajan remained an important locus for aristocratic display and social performance during the fourth and fifth centuries, parts of the nearby Forum of Peace fell into disrepair.⁶⁶

The question at present is whether the transformations in the heart of Rome or Ostia dramatically dislodged the centrality of traditional religions and religious spaces for residents of the Late Antique city. Such a view has often been argued, accepting as fact the words of Christian poets who claimed that the “decline” of Roman temples was a product of the “triumph” of Christianity.⁶⁷ Archaeological evidence from Ostia’s Forum suggests, by contrast, that the site of the Capitolium remained an ideologically important center for the display of authority and power throughout the fourth century and beyond, regardless of the identifiable “religious” activities that may have been practiced there. Seven inscriptions – several found in the vicinity of the Forum and one explicitly stating to have been placed there – imply that the civic center remained a vibrant, vital staging ground for expressions of municipal and imperial display, even as parts of that stage changed. What is important is to recognize that none of these benefactors viewed their social identities in terms that forbade engagement with Ostia’s traditional civic center. In fact, their dedications achieved an authority and social relevance through dialogue with Ostia’s past.

THE LATE ANTIQUE FORUM INSCRIPTIONS

One inscription, discovered in 1913 in the Forum itself near the western Decumanus, commemorates an act undertaken by Publius Attius Clementinus, prefect of the grain supply sometime during the late fourth century (Figure 33, no. 1).⁶⁸ The text reports that Clementinus transferred an unknown object, perhaps a statue, from squalid places (“*sordentibus locis*”) to a new location in order “to adorn the forum” and to improve “its public face.” This act of beautifying the forum was not an isolated event. As two slightly earlier inscriptions show (Figure 33, nos. 2–3), it was the purview of *praefecti annonae* to ensure that the

⁶⁶ Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 61–70, 83–114.

⁶⁷ Prud. *Peri.* 2.413–562.

⁶⁸ “*translatam ex sordentibus locis | ad ornatum fori | et ad faciem publicam | curante P. Attio | Clementino v(iro) c(larissimo) | praef(ecto) ann(onae),*” *CIL* 14^s.4721. See *PLRE* 1 “Clementinus.” Given its roughly carved letters, the inscription has been dated to the fourth century; see Vaglieri 1913e, 237.

“public face” of the town’s center maintained a respectable appearance. Sometime before 389 CE, the prefect of the grain, Ragonius Vincentius Celsus, erected “at his own expense” two inscribed memorials, probably for the display of statues bearing his portrait (Figure 34).⁶⁹ Both of these were discovered on the east side of the Forum, and there is good cause to believe that they were once located within the perimeter of the civic center.⁷⁰ Since republican times, Ostia’s town council had honored its proud sons with statues adorning the Forum. As the example of Publius Lucilius Gamala *senior* makes clear, these kinds of public monuments for distinguished citizens augmented the town’s prestige.⁷¹ By the middle of the fourth century, it was Rome’s food procurement officer who was responsible for the upkeep of Ostia’s public space. Attius Clementinus and perhaps Vincentius Celsus, too, were descendants of this tradition.

Ostia’s urban renewal was not the sole prerogative of the prefects, either. Two inscriptions inform us that even Rome’s emperors, in name at least, played an important role in the maintenance of Ostia’s public space (Figure 33, nos. 4–5). Constantius II and his brother ordered an unnamed prefect of the grain supply to restore an unspecified Ostian place or object “to its former state.”⁷² According to the inscription, the object, building, or site under consideration had apparently fallen into disrepair “due to a lengthy period of neglect” (“*incuria longi temporis destituta*”). In a second inscription, an emperor known only by his honorific titles (“Pius Felix Invictus Augustus”), invokes the “ruinous” state of an unspecified place or monument and his success in making it new again.⁷³

⁶⁹ See *CIL* 14^S.4717 (“curavit Ragoniu[s] | Vincentius Celsus | v(ir) c(larissimus) praefectus | annonae urbis | Romae et civitas (*sic*) | fecit memorata | de proprio”) and *CIL* 14.139 (the same exact text). For Celsus, see *PLRE* 1 “Ragonius Vincentius Celsus 9.” His activities at Ostia are well attested (“Ragonius Vincentius | Celsus v(ir) c(larissimus) praefectus | annonae urbis Romae | urbi eidem propria | pecunia civitatis | Ostiensium collocavit,” *CIL* 14^S.4716 [= *ILS* 9355]). See also *CIL* 14.173 [= *CIL* 6.1760].

⁷⁰ *NSc* 1927, 399–400; see also Zevi 1971, 465–66.

⁷¹ “idem tribunal in foro mar[moreum] fecit | huic statua inaurata d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) | p(ecunia) (publica) posita est | item athena d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) p(ecunia) p(ublica) posita | proxume tribunal quae(toris),” *CIL* 14.375. For the most recent discussion and bibliography, see Lo Cascio 2004.

⁷² “[Cons]tantius et Const[ans] | [–]s incuria longi teporis destituta[s] | [–]orum ad pristinum statum reforman[–] | [s]uis rediderunt | [–] v(iro) c(larissimo) praefecto annona[e] cum iure [gl]adii,” *CIL* 14.135. The inscription can only date between 340 CE, the beginning of the brothers’ joint rule, and 350 CE, the death of Constans (Seeck 1919, 188–97).

⁷³ “[—] Pius Felix Invictus Augustus [—] | [de]formatas ruinosas labe[—] | Ostiensibus integravit | [—] annonae v(iro) c(larissimo) prae[—],” *CIL* 14.134. The presence



34. Statue identified as Ragonius Vincentius Celsus. DAI-Rome 67.1067. Ostian Museum.

Unfortunately, we do not know where exactly either of these inscriptions was discovered. E. Q. Visconti (1751–1818) discussed both of them in his notebooks but said nothing specific about their provenance.⁷⁴ One piece of evidence brought to light during the excavations of 1923 may supply a valuable clue (Figure 33, no. 6). Decades before the heirs of Constantine erected their inscribed base, the people of Ostia themselves financed a large public monument, found in the Forum near the Temple of Roma and Augustus (Figure 35).⁷⁵ The monument was a massive marble podium, approximately 2.10 meters wide and broad enough to support an equestrian statue (Figure 36). The people of Ostia decreed it for the praetorian prefect of Maxentius, Manlius Rusticianus, on account

of the title *vir clarissimus*, used to describe the [*praefectus*] *annonae*, suggests a fourth-century date or later; see Jones 1964, 525–28.

⁷⁴ See the annotations at *CIL* 14.134–35.

⁷⁵ *NSc* 1923, 405.



35. Equestrian base in foreground, the Temple of Roma and Augustus in background, with fragments of the temple pediment restored at rear left. Present state. Author's photograph.

of his reliability (*fides*) and his services to the city.⁷⁶ Erected sometime between 306 CE and 312 CE, it is a piece of powerful testimony to a local, not imperial, initiative to adorn Ostia's civic center at the start of the fourth century.⁷⁷ Its location in front of the Temple of Roma and Augustus suggests that the sons of Constantine may have placed their own dedication nearby because their father's penchant for manipulating building projects to efface the memory of his defeated adversary, Maxentius, is well documented.⁷⁸

The extent to which Maxentius's ghosts, or rather his political identity, haunted Ostia's streets is little understood. These same ideological motives may have influenced Constantine's heirs and their decision to erect a monument in Ostia's Forum. By juxtaposing the older, politically tinged display – set up by the “usurper's” praetorian prefect – to their own inscription, the brothers were continuing the dynastic goals of their

⁷⁶ The inscription is badly damaged: “Manlio Rus[ticiano] | praef. ann. a. v. pra[—] | eemm. vv. curato[—] | splendidissime col. os. [. . .] ob eius fidem ac | merii (*sic*) erga rem publicam ordo | et populus Ostiensium ovo. (*sic*) civitas | titulis administra[t]i]onis eius | fieret inlust[r]ior? | adq[ue] | const[itui]t,” *CIL* 14^S.4455.

⁷⁷ *PLRE* 1 “Manli(us) Rusticianus 3.”

⁷⁸ See Krautheimer 1983, 7–40; see also Krautheimer 2000, 3–32. The completion of the basilica in the Roman Forum and the erection of the church of San Giovanni in Laterano on land that once belonged to Maxentius's horse guards are two examples often discussed; see Curran 2000, 54–62 and 76–80.



36. View of the Temple of Roma and Augustus (foreground), the equestrian base of Maxentius, and the Capitolium, present state. Clockwise, view toward the north. Author's photograph, 2007.

father. The inscription's emphasis on "neglect" and a desire to return things to their "pristine, former state" may not have had any connection at all with the physical state of the surrounding monuments. Instead, this language may have been a rhetorical posture that closed the door to the past, on one hand, and simultaneously renewed time and tradition, on the other.⁷⁹

References to architectural improvement often deploy "highly charged" language "in order to assert notions of destruction and reconstruction that do not necessarily have any direct correlation with the previous state of the building or the actual operation recorded."⁸⁰ Words such as *vetustas* ("old age"), *incuria* ("neglect"), and *multo tempore* ("after a long time") were often used without any regard for the actual span of time during which the monument sat unattended. These phrases and attributes appear throughout the body of Latin rebuilding inscriptions from the second century BCE to the early sixth century CE. None of this evidence denies that natural disasters took a toll on ancient buildings, as

⁷⁹ See Thomas and Witschel 1992.

⁸⁰ For this discussion and the quotations cited throughout, see Thomas and Witschel 1992, "highly charged" (137), architectural history and history as a "series of restarts" (146 and 167), "the antiquity of a town" (169), "*ad pristinam*" (172). See also Saastamoinen 2010, Kalas 2010, and Alföldi 2001.

the authors are quick to admit. What their analysis clarifies is two aspects of Roman rebuilding practices.

On the one hand, standard epigraphic rhetoric might say little about the actual state of a specific monument at the time of its repair. On the other hand, the fervor of restoration carried with it a sense of respect, or *pietas*, toward older monuments and imperial predecessors. In other words, it was by invoking the language of “neglect” that the restorer underscored his own sense of *pietas* toward an earlier age. This work has cast a new light on issues of so-called historical, or periodic, decline, especially those often inferred in discussions of the third century.

At Ostia, such epigraphic language is documented as early as the time of Augustus, a figure who was quite savvy in negotiating the past during his restoration of Rome.⁸¹ By invoking the abstract causes of “time,” these and other rebuilding inscriptions, including plaques and statue bases, aimed to portray both architectural history and history itself “as a series of restarts.” The accumulation of these rebuilding signs over time could even, in some cases, serve “to recognize the antiquity of a town.” In each individual case, however, the restoration of a building “to its ancient state” or the attempt to give it a “new appearance” (“*ad pristinam*,” “*ad novam faciem*”) always involved a delicate balance between preserving the old and highlighting the new, none of which language necessarily implied either a city literally in ruins or lavishly extravagant architectural investment.⁸² In Late Antiquity this veneer of “modernity” could take the form of public statuary displays or small statue bases in front of the ancient monuments, “something to be studied in detail and in proximity to the [restored] building.”⁸³ The scale of this trend fuses nicely with a growing Late Antique interest in miniaturization in other contemporary art forms.⁸⁴

For all of these reasons, I propose that Attius Clementinus’s desire to “adorn the forum and its public visage” was not a unique event in late fourth-century Ostia. Clementinus’s dedication is the product of a continual effort throughout the centuries to update Ostia’s Forum by furnishing it with a new veneer through commemorations. This epigraphic habit began under Maxentius, continued through the Constantinian

⁸¹ “quot vetus[tate] deficiebat,” *NSc* 1953, 299 and no. 67; see also Aug. *RG* 19–20.

⁸² See Brown 1980.

⁸³ Thomas and Witschel 1992, 152.

⁸⁴ Elsner 2004, 292–307.

dynasty, and stretched at least to the end of the fourth century. If we trust a slightly later inscription, found just to the west of the Capitolium, we can deduce that this political dimension of reconstruction continued after Attius Clementinus. Dated to the first decades of the fifth century, this last inscription names Honorius and Theodosius II and records the “complete” renovation of an unnamed monument on their behalf (“*totam renovav[it]*”) by the city *vicarius*.⁸⁵ Perhaps it was one of the roads itself, the *Cardo* or the *Decumanus*, that provided an important colonnaded backdrop for processions and daily life in the Late Antique town.⁸⁶ This body of inscriptions indicates that the appearance of Ostia’s Late Antique city center was far from “disrepair.” Even if we take the claim of Attius Clementinus to have transferred a statue “from squalid surroundings” (“*ex sordentibus locis*”) for the purpose of embellishing the Forum, the statue base offers incontrovertible evidence that Ostia’s late fourth-century Forum was not a squalid environment.

It was also well traversed. An unpublished list of late Roman coins discovered in the Forum during excavations in the 1950s supports this conclusion. In all, twenty-two coins were found that date from the time of Gordian III (three examples) through Valens, Flavius Victor, and Eugenius.⁸⁷ Although they offer no information about the state of the contemporary monuments around them, at minimum these coins reveal the continued presence of traffic in the Forum throughout the third and fourth centuries.

It is within this context that the sites of the Hadrianic Capitolium and earlier monuments, such as the Temple of Roma and Augustus, acquired their status as sites of memory in the Late Antique period, regardless of their state of preservation. “Religion” may have increasingly emerged as a separate and distinct entity during Late Antiquity, but that does not mean that traditional monuments were immediately separated from the broader social world in which they were located.⁸⁸ By virtue of their durable presence within that landscape, they, too, contributed to the contours of

⁸⁵ “[—]DD NN Hon[orio et Theodos]io invict[—] | [—]bus Fl. N. [—]lus v(ir) c(larissimus) | vicarius urb[—] | [p]rinci[p]alium [—] | totam renov[avit],” *CIL* 14^s.4720. Dated 408–23 CE, based on the restoration of the name Fl(avius) N(icius) [Theodu]lus; see also *CIL* 10.6425.

⁸⁶ For the Late Antique colonnades along the *Decumanus*, see Gering 2004, 300–17. For the importance of colonnades to the ideology of Late Antique urbanism, see Dey 2010.

⁸⁷ Ostia Archivio Storico *GdS* 32 (1956–61), 160.

⁸⁸ See Schott 2008.

an intellectual debate – steered by such men as Lactantius, Eusebius, Ambrose, and Augustine – that increasingly sought Christianity’s complete separation from the Roman world. At Rome, dedications evincing a similar concern and respect for the traditional past were erected in the Forum throughout the fifth century, as Carlos Machado has shown; and evidence for the repair of statues hints at a complex process of identity management not often captured by contemporary Christian writers and theologians.⁸⁹ At Ostia, too, the presence of public inscriptions within a highly traditional civic-religious landscape through the first decades of the fifth century suggests a side of daily life that was much more continuous with the Roman past than radically removed from it.

Above all, this evidence suggests that the formation of a distinctly new, Christian imperial order and Christian Roman society took place within the boundaries of a city brimming with traditions. The process by which the past and present were managed or finessed was thus one that took place, in large part, at the level of the individual, whether writer, resident, or tourist.

BEYOND THE TEMPLES AND SANCTUARIES

Followers of Isis and Magna Mater, worshippers of Castor and Pollux, celebrants of Vulcan – there were many other cults and cult sites in Roman Ostia outside the Forum, and there is a body of material and textual evidence that attests to the continuity of all these traditional cults in the fourth century and beyond. Rather than discuss that evidence here, which the reader may be expecting, I have decided to postpone doing so until Chapter 6. The reason is twofold. First, I believe that we have now established a substantial ground line of traditional Roman culture against which to measure the architectural and social developments of Ostia’s fourth-century Christian and Jewish communities. Second, I believe that we start to lose perspective on fourth-century society by quarantining our discussion of traditional “religion” within specific cult sites. As Chapter 6 will show, the cults of Isis, Castor and Pollux, and Vulcan spilled out into the streets of Ostia in dramatic ways throughout the year, a fact that complicates our understanding of their social and cultural significance and one that goes a long way toward explaining their longevity in the Late Antique town. As Chapter 1 emphasized, the practices of “religion”

⁸⁹ “simulacrum Minerbae (*sic*),” *CIL* 6.526 (= id. 1664); see now Machado 2009.

are not some “thing” that can be isolated from the broader social and cultural environment of the time. They are interwoven with it, becoming a part the city’s traditions in the process.

Jews and Christians in the fourth century

Traditions, of course, can be different things for different people, and among the many microcommunities of Late Antique Ostia that viewed their traditions as separate and distinct from the shared culture of the town, two deserve mention: the Jewish and Christian ones. The fourth century witnessed a more highly visible expression of communal identity for both Christians and Jews alike. This evidence differs from anything previously seen in the archaeological record of the town. It is thus socially significant. In what follows, I propose that we see the construction of these early Christian churches and the renovations at the Ostia synagogue as forming part of a broader cultural dialogue. By promoting the group identity of the people who erected them, these buildings contributed to processes of transformation that helped shape the fourth-century town and beyond. In short, the archaeological remains speak to each community’s desire for self-presentation and for social visibility.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Whatever the precise internal or external configuration of the third-century synagogue, the building as we see it today owes a large part of its appearance to fourth-century renovations (see Figure 25). The construction of partition walls in the main porch of the synagogue, between Rooms 10 and 13, dates to this time.⁹⁰ This renovation created a more proper entry hall for the main assembly room (Room 14) and may have given Room 10 a new use. Today, that room is called the kitchen because of the presence in it of a large oven. The installation of a kitchen, dated to the fourth century, suggests the development of the site for larger, communal dining needs. The fact that the fourth-century building as a whole provided so many rooms of varying sizes throughout a connected space, similar in function to an Ostian guild, is also a helpful reminder that despite any social differences the individuals who met, worked, and worshipped here used the space to forge a common identity – a picture

⁹⁰ Squarciapino 1965, 310 (coin of Maxentius in the partition wall).



37. The Torah shrine, Ostian synagogue (4.17.1–2). View toward the northeast. Present state. Photograph by Rabun Taylor.

of fourth-century Jewish life consistent with other Jewish communities throughout the Late Antique Mediterranean.⁹¹ In part, it hints at the ways in which eating and dining were an important part of the construction of communal identity.⁹²

In the main hall, the installation of a new Torah shrine, replacing the earlier one dedicated by Mindius Faustus, also fostered and communicated this idea of a shared identity (Figure 37). Visual representations of Jewish ritual and identity are found on the extant architecture. The menorah, the *shofar*, the *lulav*, and *ethrog* (Figure 38) are depicted on a corbel above the Torah niche. The orientation of the Torah shrine itself is positioned so that members of the community access it by facing east. This evidence offers an important glimpse at how individuals and members understood, and asserted, their own identity within the broader sacred landscape at Ostia. Although positioned prominently at the shore, the Jewish community conceived of its own sacred space as stretching beyond Ostia's temples and sacred spaces back toward the location of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem. The depiction of specific objects associated with Jewish ritual also suggests a desire to carve out a specifically Jewish concept of sacred time within the larger Roman calendar of festivals and

⁹¹ Levine 2000, 232–87, 357–86.

⁹² See now Rosenblum 2010.



38. Detail of the lulav, ethrog, menorah, and shofar on the corbel of the Torah shrine. Photograph by Rabun Taylor.

celebrations. The shofar, or horn, is a ritual object characteristic of the holiday of Rosh Hashanah. The lulav, or palm branch, as well as the ethrog, or citron, are both used during the weeklong festival of Sukkot.⁹³ However, that is not to say the community was socially homogeneous. A fourth-century funerary inscription identifies one man, Plotius Fortunatus, as the head of the congregation, or *archisynagogus*. This aspect of his status would have distinguished him socially from his peers.⁹⁴ Even the meaning of the menorah on the Torah shrine was not a fixed symbol, understood the same way by all. Some viewed it as sign of the lost

⁹³ See Levine 2000, 183, 524, and 599.

⁹⁴ “Plotio Fortunato | archisyn(agogo) fec(it) Plotius | Ampliatus Secundinus | Secunda P.T.N. et Ofilia Basilia co<n>iugi,” Squarciapino 1970, 188. On the title, which appears five times in inscriptions at Rome, see Leon 1960, 171–80.

tabernacle in Jerusalem; others, as standing for the totality of Jewish customs and rituals.⁹⁵

Despite these hints at difference, however, it is clear that the fourth century represents a monumental shift in the desire to assert a more communal Jewish identity at Ostia and that architectural change played an active role in fostering a sense of shared religious heritage. The question at the heart of Ostia's complex social dynamic, however, is, why did the Jewish community embark on such a substantial program of change *now*?

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

In order to answer that question, we need to be more attuned to the ways in which expressions of fourth-century Jewish identity were intimately bound up with emerging fourth-century expressions of Christian identity.⁹⁶ The textual evidence for fourth-century Christianity at Ostia is slim but suggestive. One early fourth-century document records the attendance of an Ostian bishop at a synod in Rome in 313 CE, along with fellow church leaders from Terracina, Praeneste, and other Italian cities.⁹⁷ Named Maximus, he is the first bishop of Ostia to be known by name from evidence contemporary to his day and age. No other bishop, prior to the fifth-century Bellator, is securely identifiable from contemporary accounts, notwithstanding later attempts to articulate the memory of an early Christian hierarchy.⁹⁸ For social historians, the presence of Maximus is important because he attests to a level of internal organization at Ostia that existed, in some form, at the beginning of the fourth century.

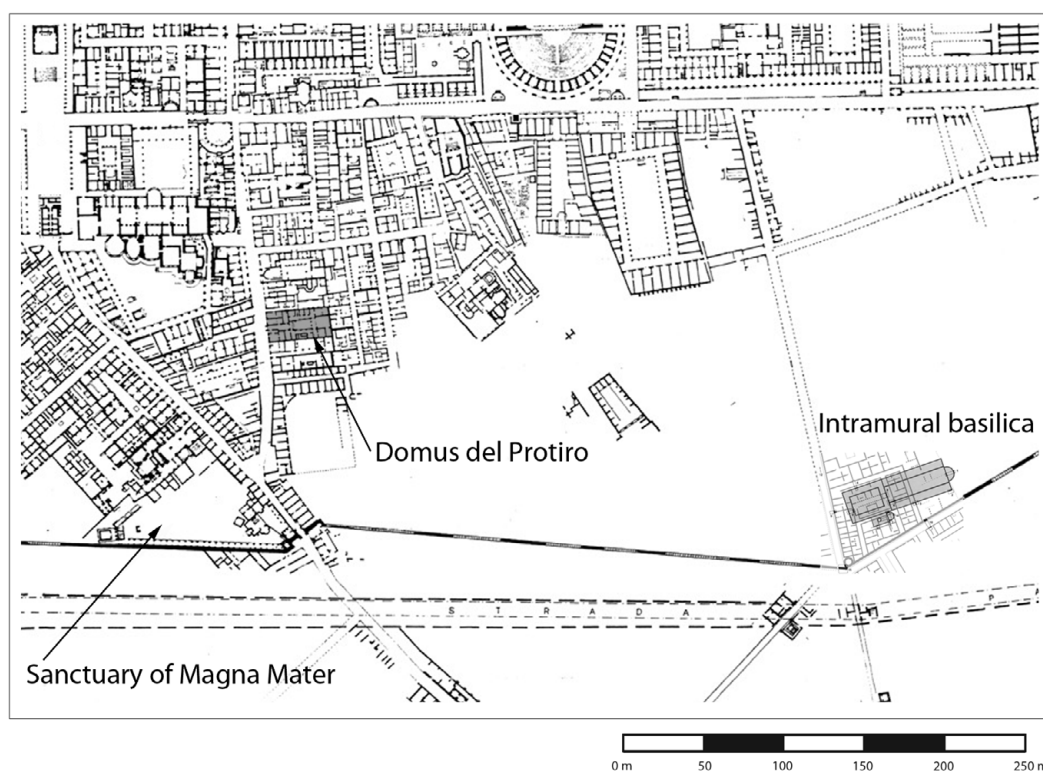
What did this Christian community look like from the outside during the fourth century? The archaeological footprint becomes more dramatic for a community that had once been classified as an illegal organization. Seen in its urban context, however, it is also largely underwhelming. The most visible traces of it were recently discovered (Map 1, no. 16). In 1996, with a combination of geophysical survey, ground-penetrating

⁹⁵ Fine 2005, 160–65.

⁹⁶ Following Schwartz 2001, 179–202.

⁹⁷ “Maximus ab Ostia,” *PL* 8, col. 747, document titled “Monumenta Vetera ad Donatarum Historiam Pertinentia.” See *PCBE* 2.2 (ed. C. Pietri and L. Pietri, 2000), “Maximus I.”

⁹⁸ See *StO* 12.80, A184 (“in n(omine) [do]m(i)n(i) n(ostri) Bellator episc(opus) fecit”). The text is *PL* 67, col. 327c (“Bellator Ostiensis”), preserved in a letter of Symmachus, bishop of Rome, 499 CE. See *PCBE* 2.1 (ed. C. Pietri and L. Pietri, 2000), “Bellator I.” The historicity of the third-century bishop Cyriacus is discussed in Chapter 6.



39. The southern gates of the city. After Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689, incorporating data from Bauer, Heinzelmann, and Martin (2000, 376, fig. 1).

radar, and magnetometry, Michael Heinzelmann, Franz Alto Bauer, and members of the German Archaeological Institute of Rome detected the plan of a three-aisled Christian basilica within the walls of the city (Figure 39). Selected excavation was then undertaken in subsequent campaigns to explore the site and confirm its identification as a church.⁹⁹ The results have provided a look at the first and only intramural Christian basilica discovered at Ostia to date. The first phase of the church has been dated to the early fourth century.

In its final form, the basilica comprised an atrium, a three-aisled nave with apse measuring approximately 51 meters long, and a small adjacent baptistery. The apse shows evidence of seventh-century restoration, and stratigraphic evidence suggests the building remained an active sacred site for at least four centuries until it fell into disuse at the end of the

⁹⁹ Bauer and Heinzelmann 2001, 1999a, and 1999b.

eighth or start of the ninth century.¹⁰⁰ Its topographical location and its architectural development over time are also important. It was erected not near the center of town but near the old city walls, directly north of a gate leading to the Laurentian territory, a detail to which we will return in Chapter 5.

More significant, and not discussed by any of the excavators, is the fact that the church incorporated foundations of a second-century CE apartment complex. This act of architectural appropriation accords well with the model advanced by L. Michael White that adaptation, not *de novo* construction, was the driving social feature behind the development of early Christian sacred spaces. Adaptation required patronage to facilitate changes at a building or property, and minority religious communities needed to cement important social connections before they asserted their own identity within a city. The construction of Ostia's first Christian basilica from an adapted apartment block, one of the town's most quintessentially traditional urban structures, hints at the dynamic processes of social engagement that took place behind the scenes.¹⁰¹ The emergence of visible Christian architecture is thus best understood as a social, not theological, triumph – even after 313 CE.

Moreover, the social composition of the community who worshipped there may not have been as monolithic as once assumed. The excavators, for example, named the basilica after Saints Peter, Paul, and John the Baptist, an attribution that has been accepted in secondary literature.¹⁰² This attribution is based on a selective reading of conflicting, post-fourth-century sources. An alternate tradition, explored in the next chapter, attests that the basilica was dedicated to Saint Lawrence. A closer look at these sources suggests that the conflicting attributions are the product of a power struggle between two factions of the Christian community who worshipped there. On the one side were wealthy patrons, who may have provided the space and financing needed for the construction of the church and who may have identified with one of the most famous wealthy Roman Christians, Lawrence. On the other side were members of the church's hierarchy, with their own financial supporters, who sought to define their ecclesiastical authority and Christian vision in much more

¹⁰⁰ Bauer and Heinzelmann 2001, 280–82.

¹⁰¹ See White 1997a, 1.26–59.

¹⁰² See Bauer and Heinzelmann 1999a, repeated, for example, by Johnson 2006, 291 and plan 12.

radical terms than their peers: by appropriating the legacy of the first generation of apostles.

Perhaps the most important point to keep in mind about the archaeology of fourth-century Ostia, however, is the true dearth of identifiably Christian evidence that can be dated to this time. There was no architecturally defined baptistery at the basilica in its first phase. That structure was added only in the fifth century. Moreover, no other Christian basilica has been securely dated as early as the one within the walls. The remains of an apsidal building, possibly an early funerary basilica, lie underneath the fifteenth-century extramural church of Sant'Aurea (Figure 40; Map 1, no. 19).¹⁰³ These walls have been dated to the end of the fourth century or beginning of the fifth century, and hints of a building with the plan of an aisled basilica are only now beginning to come to light from that time.¹⁰⁴ A church at Pianabella, an early fifth-century funerary basilica, arose in a neighborhood of older tombs, well outside the city center (Map 1, no. 20).¹⁰⁵ The walls of yet a third extramural church, now attributed to Sant'Ercolano, reveal similar evidence of a late fourth-century or early fifth-century construction (Figure 41; Map 1, no. 22) although the evidence for attributing these walls to a clearly articulated sacred space is inconclusive.¹⁰⁶ Even the epitaph supposed to have been erected for Monica, Augustine's mother (d. 387 CE), no longer dates to this general time period. We will examine it in Chapter 6.

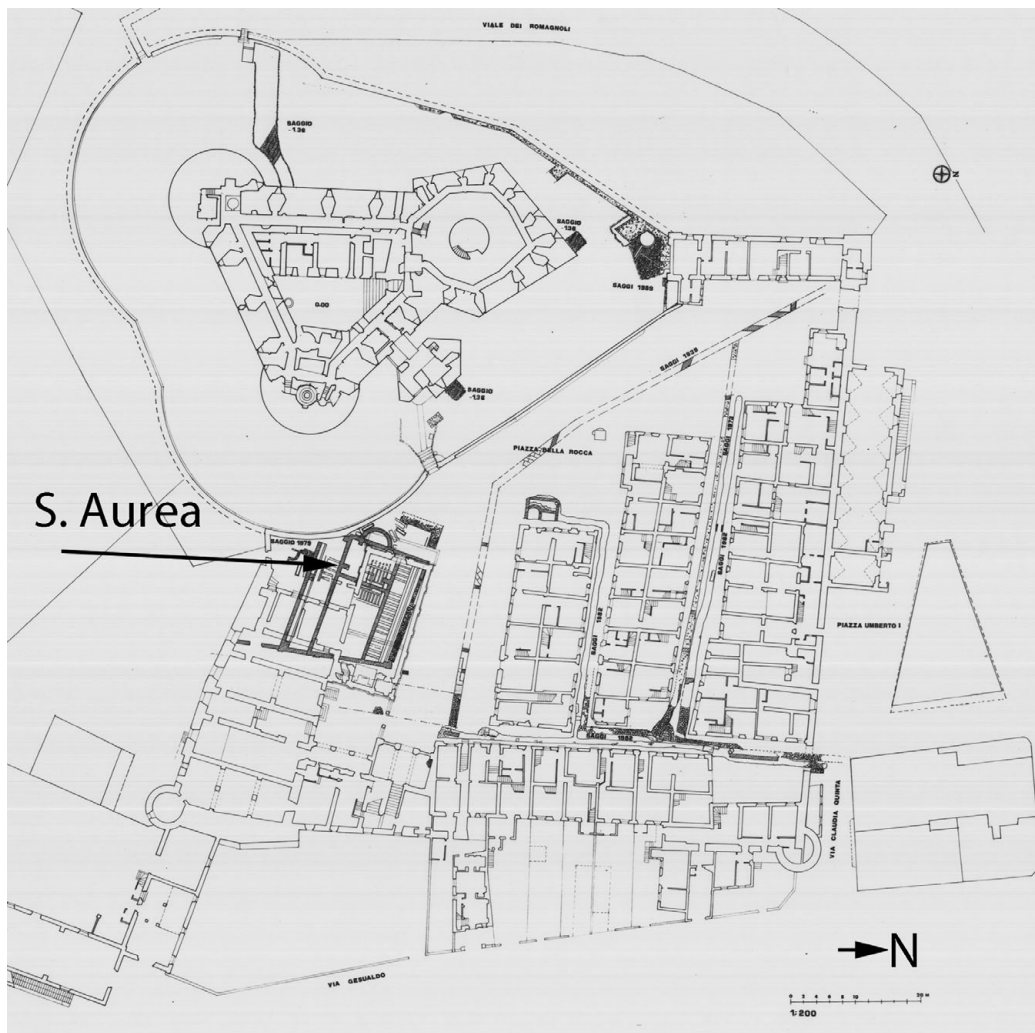
All these details provide new context for Augustine's own presentation of late fourth-century Ostia in the *Confessions*. Writing in the first decade of the fifth century and recounting the circumstances of his mother's death, the bishop of Hippo evokes the sounds, songs, and prayers of the

¹⁰³ Textual sources suggest that a basilica of Sant'Aurea existed somewhere in the territory of Ostia by the seventh century; see Chapter 6.

¹⁰⁴ Pannuzi 2006a and 2006b; Testini 1985, 325; see also Episcopo 1980; Calza 1949–51, 124; and Calza 1939–40, 86–88.

¹⁰⁵ Paroli 1999; see also Coccia and Paroli 1990a and 1990b. For a hypothesis attributing the church to Lea, whose bones were brought to Ostia, see Torres 2008, 207–16.

¹⁰⁶ The building (of *opus vittatum* masonry) is attributed to Sant'Ercolano on the basis of inscription honoring the saint, found at Ostia and currently located on the grounds of San Paolo *furoi le mura* (Pergola 1990, 173). For the twenty-one inscriptions found within the Ostian church between 1824 and 1825, see also Mazzoleni 2001, 284. One inscription, dated to the sixth century, honors Taurinus and Hippolytus, two of the martyr Aurea's companions mentioned in her martyrdom narrative (Calza 1919, 70–80).



40. Plan of the area known as Gregoriopolis, outside the walls of Ostia Antica, with the remains of an apsidal building underneath Sant'Aurea. After Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 9333.

Christian community that mourned his mother's passing.¹⁰⁷ These rituals and performances no doubt filled the building or buildings where Christians gathered. Maybe they, too, poured into the streets. As the balance of this chapter has made clear, however, these were not the exclusive sounds, or even sights, of daily life in Late Antique Ostia. Temples continued to

¹⁰⁷ "cohibito ergo a fletu illo puero [Adeodato], psalterium arripuit Evodius et cantare coepit psalmum. cui respondebamus omnis domus: 'misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi, domine,' audito autem quid ageretur, convenerunt multi fratres ac religiosas feminae," Aug. *Conf.* 9.12.31.

produced a sharp dividing line between the two communities in the early second century, it is clear today that such hard and fast divisions were much messier, and remained so, for a longer time than once believed.¹⁰⁹ For that reason, I believe that the fourth-century Jewish community *chose* to emphasize the vitality of its own rituals and the steady workings of its own sacred time when they did. Their goal was to foster and to assert a Jewish identity that was visibly distinct from the radical ways in which fourth-century Christians were increasingly being taught to view them: as practitioners of a defunct, outmoded form of worship, a people who had been left behind.¹¹⁰ The architectural interventions at the synagogue, by contrast, attest to the vibrant community gathered there, proud of its own traditions but no doubt wary of their Christian peers. The fourth century, then, notwithstanding the increasingly Christian disposition of Rome's rulers, marked the beginning, not the end, of a period that would begin to transform life in Late Antique Ostia.

¹⁰⁹ For the "Parting of the Ways," see Dunn 1999. For the "Ways That Never Parted," see now Fredriksen 2003 and Boyarin 2003.

¹¹⁰ For a discussion of Christian supersessionism, see Fine 2005, 47–52; see also M. Miles 1993.

The fifth century: History seen from the spaces in between

If the third century has traditionally been thought of as precipitating an empirewide crisis, the fifth century has long been seen as having closed the door on the Roman past. That view may be changing. Gradual transformation or abrupt change – today, scholarly approaches to the fifth century often differ dramatically, and nowhere do they become more pronounced than in discussions of the Western Roman Empire, circa 476 CE. That year lives in infamy as marking the “Fall of Rome,” when the last Western Roman Empire was deposed and a king was installed as ruler. Fifth-century Italy witnessed some stunning events prior to that year. The Gothic general Alaric had sacked and burned at least some parts of the city in 410 CE. Monuments in the Roman Forum show the traces of a fire that date to this time. Decades later, in 455 CE, Vandals from North Africa raided the Italian coast. The destruction they brought with them has been detected in the archaeological record at the church of Sant’Ippolito, located between Portus and Ostia at Isola Sacra. This series of attacks and responses has given rise to a view of the period as one of abrupt change.¹

In each of these cases, however, it is also clear that the rubble was cleared away – perhaps not as completely as it was before – the cities were rebuilt, and life continued for the residents who remained.² The Curia and at least the facade of the Basilica Aemelia were repaired after 410 CE,

¹ See, for example, Ward-Perkins 2005, 82–121. For a discussion of the fifth century, including the events of 410 CE, see Heather 2005. For archaeological evidence in Italy, see Christie 2006. On the year 410 CE itself, see Moorhead and Stuttard 2010.

² For archaeological evidence from the later Roman Forum, see Bauer 1996, 7–80.

and an inscription from Sant’Ippolito commemorates its restoration after the “Vandal attack” (*vandalica rabies*).³ That evidence may help explain why other scholars have chosen to interpret the period in a much different light from their more catastrophe-driven peers. According to this view, the urban changes wrought on western cities during the fifth and sixth centuries were but background noise to a vibrant period of social transformation, one in which the people inside the old Roman Empire learned to negotiate their identities in new ways with people formerly on the margins of it. Many studies have now explored the ways in which late Roman identity thrived in new, hybrid ways during this time.⁴ There are merits to each of these approaches.

In these last two chapters, I attempt to integrate those competing narratives into a nuanced view of urban change and social transformation. One way to do so is by viewing the archaeological record of Ostia “from the streets.” That is, in order to understand daily life in fifth-century Ostia, we need to move beyond a consideration of repairs to specific monuments toward an appreciation for the larger network of “paths, districts, landmarks, edges, and nodes” by which people navigated their social world.⁵ It is at the level of the urban network – where texts, material culture, and social memories interacted in space and time – that we find traces of the dynamism that drove this period, which, by the fifth century, included a more prominent role for Jewish and Christian traditions in the visible identity of the town.⁶ A greater attention to the power of Ostia’s past, as it was woven into this urban and suburban network, draws out the continued social significance of sites otherwise invisible within the fifth-century archaeological record.

³ The inscription from Isola Sacra, first published in 1896, reads, “vandalica rabies hanc ussit martyris aulam | quam Petrus Antistes cultu meliore novata(m),” Meiggs 1973, 98 [= *ILCV* 1788].

⁴ For a synthesis, see Wickham 2005. For an introduction to the camps, see Ward-Perkins 1997. For a reevaluation of the period of Rome’s fall, see O’Donnell 2009. For one case study examining Vandal and late Roman identity, see Merrills and Miles 2010, 83–108.

⁵ See Lynch 1960, 46–90.

⁶ For the suburban road network at Ostia, see Heinzelmann 1998, 182–89, with Late Antique discussion at 190–91. For other urban and suburban networks in Late Antique Italy, see Christie 2006, 224–26, surveying Parma, Ventimiglia, Naples, and Rome (area of the Crypta Balbi). For discussion of space syntax at Ostia, see now Stöger 2011. For a general discussion of Roman urban roads, see Kaiser 2011.

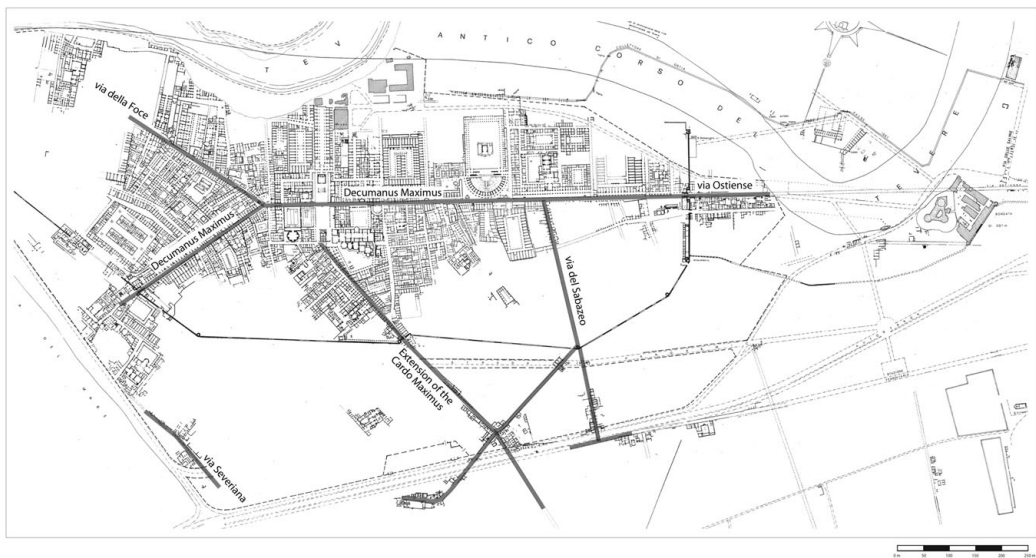
Christians and Jews in fifth-century Ostia: The view from the street

Many of the sacred buildings that stood prominently on Ostia's network of urban and suburban paths were sites of significant architectural intervention in the fifth century. Recent excavations along the via Severiana, for example, have furnished evidence for a dramatic reinforcement of the exterior synagogue walls in the late fifth century.

This restoration involved the construction of external piers to buttress the north and east walls of the main hall. At the level of the piers' foundation, underneath the ancient surface on which they were constructed, was found a late fifth-century coin. Its discovery suggests that the synagogue repairs themselves may have been a response to the same Vandal attack that destroyed Sant'Ippolito at Isola Sacra.⁷ The installation of a bema, or raised platform, at the west end of the main hall may also date to the fifth century. This addition is commensurate with ritual developments in Late Antique synagogues in Israel and Palestine, where bema installations date to the fifth or sixth century, at the earliest.⁸ The apse of the Torah shrine at Ostia, a visible feature of the worship space in some shape or form since Mindius Faustus's dedication in the late second century, was enlarged during this time. During work in the Ostian archives, researchers from The University of Texas at Austin found a coin with handwritten notes from the 1962 excavation, stating that it had been "[found] under the late mosaic pavement in the room behind the Torah Shrine" (July 4, 1962). This description corresponds to a find point in Room 9 or 13 (see Figure 25). Tentatively identified as a bronze AE4, this coin dates to the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century CE. Not only does it offer a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the floor in Rooms 9 and 13; it suggests that the masonry of the

⁷ For a preliminary report, see White, Gelb, and Boin 2012, with numismatic contribution by Daniela Williams.

⁸ Habas 2000, 114–15. The date for the construction of a bema at Ostia has been variously dated either to first century (Squarciapino 1963, 16; Runesson 2001, 75, 80) or the mid-to late second century (White 1997b, 30–34). As suggested earlier in Chapter 3, I believe that the extant architecture dates to the late fourth or early fifth century and that there is little evidence for any feature predating the early third (White et al. 2012). This issue is related to the question of whether the hall originally had a set of benches on three sides, a muddled topic that calls for extended coverage in the UT-OSMAP final report.



42. Main arteries of the intramural and extramural road network. Modified from Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 8194.

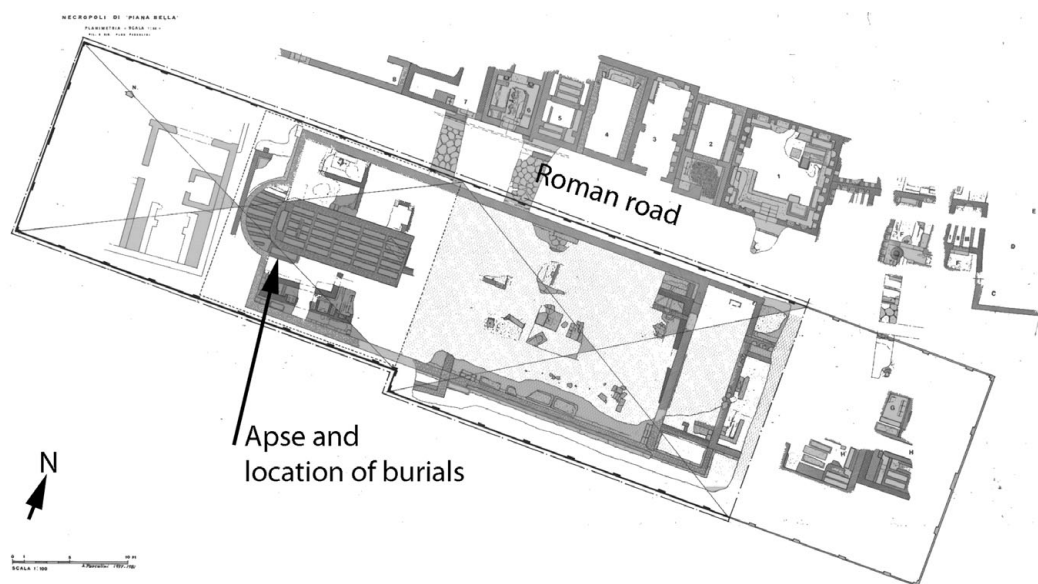
apsidal Torah shrine itself, which sits atop those mosaics, also postdates that period.⁹ These discoveries await more complete publication but hint at important architectural transformations to the synagogue in the fifth century.

Beyond the synagogue was a vital network of roads that facilitated the kinds of social interactions between Christians and Jews that I posited in the last chapter (Figure 42). The road between the synagogue and the southern gates of the city ran through the territory of Pianabella. This road remained a vibrant thoroughfare during the broader economic and political instability of the late fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.¹⁰ The Pianabella basilica (Map 1, no. 20; and Figure 43) also witnessed dramatic architectural interventions during this time.¹¹ Between the fifth and the ninth centuries, one hundred burials, all oriented east-west, were grouped at the western end of the church. Positioned in five rows of five, four bodies deep, all located around a single venerated grave, these burials testify to the important role that burial and commemoration played in

⁹ White et al. 2011a, with numismatic contribution by Daniela Williams.

¹⁰ For a discussion of excavations in the suburban territory of Ostia, including fifth-century ceramic evidence, see Pannuzi 2008, 267–69; see also Paroli 1993, 164; Heinzelmann 1998; and Torres 2008.

¹¹ See *SdO* 12.25–32.



43. Plan of the basilica at Pianabella. After Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 8194.

constructing a common Christian identity.¹² I will explore this topic in [Chapter 6](#). One burial slab deserves mention here. Found in a fifth- or sixth-century context, it was cut from an older third-century inscription that had originally referenced the Ostian cult of Vulcan. The reuse of the inscription most certainly does not testify to the wholesale abandonment of the cult, as I will also demonstrate in the next chapter. That said, it does suggest that some members of the community at Pianabella may have begun to see their Christian identity as something wholly separate and distinct from the older traditions of the town, which no longer had to be preserved.

The way in which Christians inscribed their identity on the fifth-century cityscape contributed to this growing awareness of a distinct identity. Within the old town walls, the intramural basilica received a purpose-built baptistery during this time. Given the fact that Ostia's Christian community had existed without one prior to that time, we should admit that its construction was motivated by social, as well theological, factors. The use of architecture to convey power and authority,

¹² Coccia and Parioli 1990a, 154–61; and now *SdO* 12.26 (fifth-century date of construction). Note: for the discovery of a fragment of the Ostian *Fasti* in a fifth- or sixth-century context with reference to the cult of Vulcan, see *SdO* 12.40–42, no. A7 (dated 274–76 CE).

visibly and rhetorically construed as emanating from the grounds of the church, for example, lay behind the construction of other baptisteries throughout fifth-century Italy.¹³ In a newly legislated “Christian” world, these architectural additions helped to ensure that the site of the church became – and remained – an active participant in the formation of Christian identity. The road leading to and from it remained in use through the seventh century. Evidence from within its walls suggests that the use of the church came to an end two hundred years later.¹⁴

It is all the more important now that we explore the name attributed to this intramural church. For notwithstanding the growing body of archaeological evidence associated with fifth-century Christian church buildings, Ostia’s fifth-century Christian community may have been much more differentiated, and far less monolithic, than previously assumed. The clue, I suggest, is to recognize the power inherent in bestowing a name, and the intramural church had two. One of these, the Church of Saints Peter, Paul, and John the Baptist, has been widely publicized and was discussed in the last chapter; the other, attributing the church to Saint Lawrence, is far less known. Before attempting to put that picture into some balance, we need to take account of the role that Lawrence played in Late Antique Ostia, more broadly.

The Cult of Saint Lawrence in fifth-century Ostia

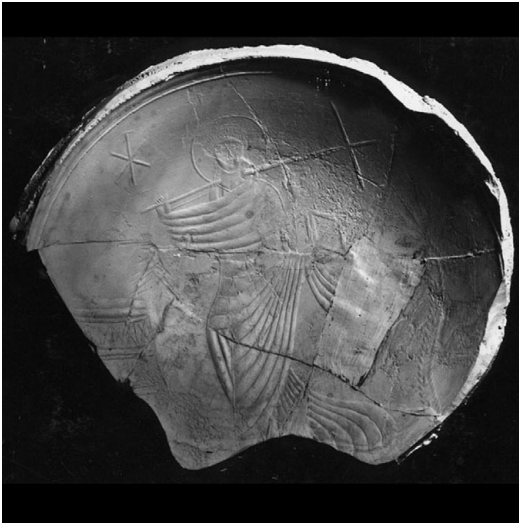
MATERIAL EVIDENCE FOR SAINT LAWRENCE

In the middle of the twentieth century, during excavation of a drainage ditch inside the *Domus del Protiro* (5.2.4–5, see Map 1, no. 11), Ostian archaeologists discovered sixteen fragments of a semitransparent green glass cup (Figure 44). The house is situated between the intramural basilica and the Sanctuary of *Magna Mater*, located just inside the *Porta Laurentina* gate. In 1952 Maria F. Squarciapino published the extraordinary find. The cup was crafted according to a technique used for glass cameos; it is 18 centimeters in diameter and 5.6 centimeters in depth, with an incised image on the external face.¹⁵ The image fills the interior of the glass, addressing the cup holder as he or she lifts the vessel.

¹³ See Cantino Wataghin, Cecchelli, and Pani Ermini 2001; see also Wharton 1999.

¹⁴ Heinzelmann 2000, 389–94.

¹⁵ Squarciapino 1952, 204.



44. Plaster cast of glassware from the Domus del Protiro (5.2.4–5), Archivio Fotografico, Ostia Antica E30017.

Seen from this point of view, the cup shows a central figure, dressed in flowing mantle and holding an open codex in his left hand. In his right hand, over his shoulder, he holds a staff depicting the monogram of Christ (“XP”). The head of the figure is encircled with a nimbus, and to his right is a sign that looks like a star. Squarciapino initially reported, “At first glance one could take it for a sign formed by a combination of ‘X’ [and] ‘I.’” A more detailed examination later convinced her it was another “XP” and that “the curve of the ‘P’ (*rho*), . . . because it was less deeply incised, has nearly disappeared following the flaking off of the surface of the glass.”¹⁶ On the right of the cup is a palm tree, the standard iconography of victory, often used to accompany martyrs as a symbol of the garden of paradise. On the left is a chest. Squarciapino suggested it was a basket of bread, perhaps alluding to Christ’s multiplication of loaves or the Eucharistic meal. On the basis of stylistic comparisons with other pieces of Theodosian and Honorian art, she dated the glass to the late fourth or early fifth century.

Is the central figure Christ? If not, what might the glass artifact be telling us about the Christian community in Ostia that scholars have overlooked? Beat Brenk was one of the first to suggest that the figure

¹⁶ “A prima vista si potrebbe prendere per quello formato dal X [e] I, ma un esame più accurato fa riconoscere anche le curva del R, che, per essere meno profondamente incisa, è quasi scomparsa in seguito allo sfaldamento della superficie del vetro,” Squarciapino 1952, 204–07.

represents Lawrence, a Roman deacon allegedly martyred during the persecutions of the third-century emperor Valerian.¹⁷ Brenk made this observation on the basis of the figure's resemblance to the depiction of the martyr in the lunette in the small, cruciform mausoleum attributed to Galla Placidia at Ravenna (Figure 45). Both figures are dressed in a tunic, facing forward toward the viewer. Each holds a codex and carries a cruciform staff over his shoulder. A nimbus, or halo, surrounds each of their heads. If the Ravenna mosaic does depict Lawrence – and it is important to point out that the traditional identification of the figure in the Ravenna mosaic now has been called into question – then Brenk's observation might support an illuminating study of the cult of the martyr Lawrence at the old harbor town.¹⁸

Unfortunately, there is no legend or label on the glass to claim a definitive identification of the central figure. Individual examples do exist that show striking similarity to the Ostian and Ravenna figures, such as a fresco from the San Senatore catacombs in Albano Laziale that represents Lawrence, labeled as such, carrying a codex and cruciform staff.¹⁹ However, the range of Lawrence's known depictions on other Late Antique media make it likely that no standard iconographic tradition had developed for depicting him by the late fourth or fifth century. Whereas one example from gold glass represents him as young and beardless, another portrays him wearing a beard and tonsured. Sometimes he is depicted holding a scroll or open book; other times he holds the deacon's processional staff with cross. Still other times, he holds them both.²⁰ Thus, whereas the repetition of details like the processional cross and the open book does suggest the gradual emergence of an iconographic tradition associated with the martyred deacon Lawrence over time, the prevalence of these same details in representations of other martyrs and saints throughout the Late Antique period makes any search to identify the figure on the Ostian glass more individually nearly impossible to resolve.

¹⁷ *LP* 25, 155, "Life of Sixtus II." For the observation, see Brenk 2003, 40; and Brenk 2005, 28.

¹⁸ For the identification of the Ravenna figure with Saint Vincent, see Mackie 1990.

¹⁹ On the development of martyr iconography, see Grig 2004b, 215–25.

²⁰ A comprehensive survey of Lawrence iconography is beyond the scope of this study; see the discussion at Boin 2009, 86–91. For a beardless Lawrence, labeled on gold glass, see Morey 1959, no. 40 (Vatican Museums). For a bearded Lawrence with Christogram, see the discussion at Grig 2004b, 215–25 [= Morey 1959, no. 460 (Metropolitan Museum, New York)].



45. Lunette with Saint Lawrence carrying the cross of martyrdom. To the left a book cabinet containing the four canonical Gospels. Mosaic. Early Christian, c. 425 CE. Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, Italy. Cameraphoto Arte, Venice/Art Resource, New York.

We should consider the possibility that the figure's ambiguity may have been intentional.²¹

Beardless, dressed in a tunic, holding an open book and processional cross, flanked by the palm tree symbolizing his heavenly victory, the male figure faces the man or woman holding the cup. This ambiguity would not have been surprising to the Late Antique viewer.²² Contemporary images – such as the individual mosaic panels in the fifth-century church of Santa Maria Maggiore, which lacked an identifiably unified program, or the paintings in the hypogeum on the via Dino Compagni, also in Rome – often demanded the viewer's engagement to bring their iconographic meaning or social significance to life.²³ In this way, they can be said to have functioned no differently than symbols like the menorah, which evoked a range of meanings for Late Antique Jews. I believe that the

²¹ For the imagery at Ravenna and Rome, see Deichmann 1958; see also Matthiae 1967. For another example, see also the church of Hagios Stephanos at Cemil in Cappadocia, Turkey, where an image of John the Baptist (c. seventh to ninth century CE) holds a processional cross similar to that seen in the Ravenna mosaic or the Ostian glass.

²² Thus, see Swift and Alwis on the mosaic from Ravenna, just discussed (2010, 202–03). The theory and methods of Gell (1998) are also important here.

²³ See, for example, Snyder 2005.

glassmaker, or patron, used this same multivalent approach in depicting the figure on the glass cup. Martyr, saint, apostle, or Christ – as long as the generic elements or attributes of martyrdom were in place, the owner of the glass was able to see the figure that he or she wished to see.

A palm tree signaled the martyr's triumph over death, and the symbol adjacent to the figure's head, which Squarciapino had identified as "XP," may be a star; and the curve of the "P" (rho), which according to Squarciapino had "nearly disappeared," may never have been there at all.²⁴ The star, as Dennis Trout has demonstrated, both in literary and artistic realms, was often used to connote a martyr's elevated status among Christian communities.²⁵ The entire ceiling of the Ravenna mausoleum is filled with these stellar signs of martyrdom. Even the holy books, depicted in the cabinet with the canonical gospels in the Ravenna mosaic, may also appear in the composition of the Ostian cup if one considers that the box at the figure's feet is not a basket of bread, as Squarciapino interpreted it, but rather a chest (*scrinium*) for holding gospel scrolls. The *scrinium*, or open container, is an object commonly seen in fourth-century art at Rome, and it is often depicted filled with scrolls or codices.²⁶ These scriptures often represented the faith for which the martyrs themselves had died. Deacons like Lawrence were the protectors of these books, containing, as they did, the "new law" of Christ. It was the deacon's "law-giving role" that led Prudentius to describe Lawrence himself appearing in the guise of Moses, with a face that glowed like the old lawgiver descending from the mountain.²⁷

A conservative reading of the glass might stop here, emphasizing its illustrative role as evidence for the Late Antique "cult of the martyrs." I believe that it also offers an important window onto the social world of Christians and Jews in the fifth century. In short, it is a visible sign of a growing Christian desire to appropriate, more forcefully, the Jewish

²⁴ Squarciapino 1952. As of December 2007, the glass cup has been set aside for restoration; and I have been unable as yet to view the artifact. My proposal is only tentative at this point.

²⁵ Trout 2005a, 165–78.

²⁶ See the fresco paintings in the lunette of the Arcosolium of Veneranda in the catacomb of Domitilla; the cubiculum lunette in the same catacomb that depicts Daniel in the lions' den; and the frescoes from the catacomb of Trebius Iustus. The first painting is particularly relevant because it depicts both a *scrinium* filled with scrolls and shows the central figure sitting next to an open codex.

²⁷ Prud. *Pe.* 2.361–64.

past. As a piece of material culture, then, it is a visual lesson instructing its users in the social acceptability, or perhaps theological necessity, of a Christian desire to appropriate Jewish sacred history. In this regard, it is not surprising that the Christian martyr was depicted alongside texts that were sacred to him. Scriptures play a powerful role of identity formation, and the Jewish community itself was in the process of erecting a more elaborate, monumental Torah shrine in the hall of the synagogue during this same time. What becomes socially significant is to set these aspects of Ostia's material culture alongside each other and to take account of their shared urban context.

The fifth century witnessed a growing Christian anti-Judaism throughout the Mediterranean and an increasingly forced separation for the Jewish community from society as a whole. Christians burned and pillaged the synagogue at Minorca in order to take back the books that they considered to be rightfully theirs, and the fifth-century mosaics at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome operate on a similarly supersessionist level.²⁸ In one sermon, Augustine of Hippo described Jews as servants who carry the books of their masters without profiting from reading what they carried.²⁹ These instances of Christian-Jewish engagement multiply throughout the fifth century and are attested both in urban settings and “hermeneutically,” that is, in texts where Late Antique Christians found it useful to think with “Jews.”³⁰ Although some scholars have tried to decouple the two bodies of evidence, downplaying the role that anti-Jewish rhetoric may have played in fostering anti-Jewish actions, I follow the positions advanced by Victor Rutgers, Guy Stroumas, and Seth Schwartz, all of whom have detected a general connection between the growing and aggressive anti-Jewish stance advanced by Christian texts, on the one hand, and a rise in Late Antique anti-Judaism, on the other.³¹ Rhetoric shapes reality.

²⁸ For events at the synagogue at Minorca, see Severus of Minorca *Letter on the Conversion of the Jews* (ed. and trans. Bradbury 1996). For the mosaics in Rome, see M. Miles 1993.

²⁹ “in quali ergo opprobrio sunt Iudaei? codicem portat Iudaeus, unde credat Christianus. librarii nostri facti sunt, quomodo solent servi post dominos codices ferre, ut illi portando deficiant, illi legendo proficiant. in tale opprobrium dati sunt Iudaei,” Aug. *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 56.9 [PL 36, col. 666]. Fredriksen (2008, 321–24) attempts to frame Augustine's treatment of Jews in a more positive light.

³⁰ Fredriksen (2008, 290–366) has discussed the concept of the “hermeneutical Jew.”

³¹ See, for example, Rutgers 2009, 1–17; Schwartz 2003, 199; Stroumas 1996, 3–16; and Gager 1985.

The extent to which this atmosphere of hostility affected Ostia during this time is difficult to judge, but the description of Lawrence in textual sources as a “Levite priest,” that is, a Jewish priest who worked in the service of Christ, is a sign of the same cultural currents that increasingly led to negative outcomes in the fifth century.³² We will look at this evidence now. At minimum, it suggests that there was a spirited conversation between Ostia’s Christian and Jewish communities playing out across the fifth-century landscape and that it involved Christian and Jewish concepts of their own scriptures – including, perhaps, a lively debate over the rightful ownership of them.

TEXTUAL EVIDENCE FOR SAINT LAWRENCE

None of the iconographic analysis, introduced earlier in this chapter, discounts the possibility that Lawrence may have played a major part in the Late Antique landscape of Ostia. In the mid-fourth century, Damasus memorialized martyrs like Lawrence by placing epigrams around the city of Rome, marking important Christian sites for pilgrims.³³ In addition to sponsoring other saints’ memorials, Damasus also witnessed the construction of at least one church dedicated to Lawrence: San Lorenzo in Damaso, located near the Theater of Pompey.³⁴ The late fourth-century poet Prudentius dedicated the second hymn of his *Peristephanon* to Lawrence’s martyrdom.³⁵ In it, he evokes an image of a saint who was revered by distinguished Roman families and their noble offspring, suggesting that the saint enjoyed a particularly loyal following among the

³² “Levita Laurentius,” *AASS* June VII, 33–34.

³³ “haec Damasus tibi, Christe deus, nova tecta dicavi / Laurentii saeptus martyris auxilio,” Damasus’ epigram to Lawrence, *ICUR* 2, 134 [= *Epigrammata Damasiana* 1942 no. 58]; and *EpD.* 33, “verbera, carnifices, flammās, tormenta, catenas / vincere Laurenti sola fides potuit.” For the epigrams in topographical context, see Curran 2000, 142–55; and Trout 2005b.

³⁴ For the archaeological remains, see Cecchelli 2003; see also Krautheimer 1983, 22–23, and Krautheimer 2000, 83–87; and “S. Laurentius in Damaso,” in *LTUR* 3.179. For a broader discussion of Damasus in fourth-century Rome, see Trout 2005a, 171–78. The construction of a basilica near the alleged tomb of San Lorenzo, located on the via Tiburtina, is also important. The present church, San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura, preserves substantial elements of a sixth-century building, attributed to the Roman bishop Pelagius (579–90 CE), but there may have also been an earlier church or shrine; see “S. Laurentius fuori le mura,” in *LTURS* 3.203–11. On the textual tradition for Lawrence at Ravenna, see also Deliyannis 2010, 61–62.

³⁵ “videmus inlustres domos, / sexu ex utroque nobiles, / offerre votos pignera, / clarissimorum liberum,” Prud. *Pe.* 2.521–41; see the discussion at Matthews 1975, 363–65.

Late Antique aristocracy of Rome, Milan, and the Latin West.³⁶ In this context, the fact that Gregory of Tours gives testimony for the existence of a crystalline *kalyx*, or drinking cup, used in ritual celebrations at the basilica of Saint Lawrence in Milan is a remarkable coincidence.

Textual evidence supports the assertion that Lawrence's cult was also a facet of life in Late Antique Ostia, perhaps as early as the fourth or fifth century. The evidence deserves new look. At issue is the relationship between two unreliable sources: "The Acts of Gallicanus" in the *Acta Sanctorum* and "The Life of Sylvester" in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Each of these writings postdates the rule of Constantine, the period they purport to describe, by at least a century and a half, if not more. An edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* was redacted around 530 CE.³⁷ Likewise, most scholars agree that the *Acta Sanctorum* may have been redacted as early as the fifth or sixth century, although none of the surviving manuscripts predate the eighth century.³⁸ Thus, although they are a shaky foundation on which to base any historical investigation of the early fourth century, the fact that they were redacted in the fifth or sixth century makes them particularly relevant for our discussion of Ostia during that time.³⁹ Both texts mention the foundation of an urban basilica. The *Liber Pontificalis* credits this building to Constantine and says that he named it for the two apostles and John the Baptist. A Roman named Gallicanus, probably a senator, later added to and renovated this structure.⁴⁰ The *Acta Sanctorum*, on the other hand, omits any mention of the emperor Constantine and claims that Gallicanus himself, at the urging of Saint Lawrence in a

³⁶ For evidence from Milan, see Gregory of Tours, *De gloria beatorum martyrum* 1.45–46 (c. 590 CE) [= *PL* 71, col. 747C]: "est enim apud eandem urbem [= apud Mediolanensem urbem (Milan)] basilica sancti Laurentii levitae cuius supra meminimus ibique admirabili pulchritudine calyx crystallinus habetur." The building's foundations date to the fourth century, but the association of this phase with the cult of Lawrence is speculative; see Krautheimer 1983, 81–92.

³⁷ For a date between 410 and 540 CE, see Pilsworth 2000; and Cooper and Hillner 2007. See also discussions in Cooper 1999 and Dufourcq 1988.

³⁸ Dufourcq 1988, 1.279–82. A more complete discussion of the *Acta* appears in Chapter 6.

³⁹ See Cooper 1999; see also Llewellyn 1976 and Bundy 1987.

⁴⁰ "eodem tempore fecit Constantinus Augustus basilicam in civitate Hostia, iuxta portum urbis Romae, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et Iohannis Baptistae, ubi et dona obtulit haec: . . . item dona quae obtulit Gallicanus basilicae suprascriptae sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et Iohannis Baptistae," *LP* 34.28–29, 183, "Life of Sylvester, 314–35 CE.

dream, built Ostia's first urban basilica and named it for the Roman deacon. It describes the basilica's location near a gate in the town's southern wall.⁴¹

Offering two competing versions for the foundation of Ostia's urban basilica, these texts present a dilemma for the historian. Some scholars will no doubt be eager to insist on the historical veracity of one version over the other, but I suggest that we take a slightly different approach. Rather than weigh the historicity of one narrative against the other, we might profitably explore the overlooked social significance of the tradition in which Lawrence features so prominently. How might the Lawrence-Gallicanus tradition – in its oral or early textual form – shed light on the social history of the early Christian community? How might the fifth- or sixth-century milieu have influenced the production or redaction of that tradition? Placing the text within the social and cultural context of fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-century Ostia is an important first step toward answering these questions.

First, it is important to note that the Lawrence-Gallicanus tradition in the *Acta Sanctorum* makes no mention of any emperor's role in the construction of the church. If this tradition is reliable, it suggests that Christianity's first monumental building within the city walls was a local initiative, not an imperially imposed decision from Rome. This attribution of agency to a Roman individual, not Constantine, marks a serious divergence with the tradition in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Built around the miraculous intervention of a wealthy Roman martyr, the Lawrence narrative underscores the role that elite local patrons, not the emperor, may have played in constructing Ostia's first urban church. The name Gallicanus, the man to whom Lawrence appears, may even be a reference to an actual historical figure.⁴² Although debate over this man's identity thus figures prominently in the works of scholars who study the conversion of the Roman aristocracy, the narrative as whole, by comparing Lawrence's distribution of wealth to Gallicanus's own civic benefactions, might also have had a rhetorical dimension that belies any search for the identity

⁴¹ "hic [Gallicanus] primus in Ostiensi urbe extruxit ecclesiam, et dedicavit officia clericorum. huic se sanctus Levita Laurentius revelavit, adhortans eum, ut in eius nomine ecclesiam fabricaret in porta, quae nunc usque Laurentia nuncupatur," *AASS* VII, June, 33–34.

⁴² Champlin suggests that "Gallicanus" is Ovinus Gallicanus, consul in 317 CE (1982, 73–76). Grégoire and Orgels prefer a second "Gallicanus," consul in 331 CE (1954, 581–601).

of the historical figure.⁴³ “Gallicanus” may have been a narrative symbol intended to stand in for the upper echelon of the local, wealthy community who had paid for the church’s foundation. Whichever case may be true, the particulars of the Lawrence-Gallicanus foundation narrative would have appealed to an elite segment of Late Ostian society that viewed public munificence not only as an admirable act of Christian piety but one that matched the spirit of Lawrence’s own donations to the urban poor.

In any case, the church within the walls may or may not have borne the martyr’s name. For this same reason, it remains important to distinguish, not collapse, the two textual traditions that report the foundation of the basilica because there is no evidence that the two sources refer to the same building at all. “Constantine’s church,” if it does exist, may still lie hidden; and the Lawrence tradition may have developed as a false etiology for the attribution of the urban basilica – attributing it to that deacon in order to explain its proximity to the Laurentian gate, whose road led to the Laurentian territory. Whatever the precise attribution, it is clear that the cult of Lawrence did give the Christian community or communities a sense of shared identity that was rooted in and connected to the figure of the Roman martyr. In this way, Lawrence provided a model of personal piety that was relevant and appealing to the Late Antique elite who lived and passed through Ostia. This model was not contingent on the agency of the emperor or on any ecclesiastical authority who wished to highlight the patronage of emperors like Constantine in the formation of Christian community. The existence of a possible rift in the Christianity community at Ostia between the ecclesiastical elite and the lay elite, as detected in these competing textual traditions, is a topic to which I will return in the next chapter.

A growth in visibility of the Christian community at Ostia thus marked the first decades of the fifth century. The urban basilica, distinguished by its fifth-century baptistery and, more prominently, the funerary basilica at Pianabella, south of the city, gave this community a more public presence across the town. However, rather than see these developments as reflecting the establishment of Nicene Christianity as the official “religion” of the empire, I would propose that we view them as one part of a

⁴³ For historical considerations, see, for example, Barnes 1995, 142; and Salzman 2002, 100.

wider – in fact, urban – social and cultural conversation, one in which new nodes of power and community were being established among Christians.⁴⁴ Interwoven with points of history throughout the old town, these developments took place alongside sites that were centuries older and, for that reason, were perhaps more socially significant and socially entrenched in the daily life of the town than the new churches springing up all around them. To understand how Late Antique Ostia left its older skin behind, however, we will need to gauge the relationship between the sites in dialogue with one another to examine how more recent architectural developments shaped the fifth-century conversation about Ostia's own storied traditions.

Ostia's traditional religions in the fifth century: The view from the street

The fifth-century evidence for traditional religious practices is slim, but we have already seen that Ostia's traditional religious places and their images still retained power. The appearance of the Forum did not suffer significantly in the late fourth or early fifth century. Statues of Hercules remained important visual components of the town's baths, perhaps at the Porta Marina, throughout the fifth century. The oldest sanctuary space at Ostia (1.15) also witnessed the substantial restoration of one of the buildings within its walls during the early fifth century, as a masonry study by Theodora Heres has suggested (Map 1, no. 8; [Figure 46](#)).⁴⁵ Another highly revealing cult site, the Sanctuary of Magna Mater and Attis, is discussed in the next section.

This evidence has not traditionally been at the forefront of conversation about daily life in fifth-century Ostia. Roman conservatism has usually taken a back seat to the invention of "Christian tradition." A superficial look at the late fourth-century Christian evidence makes clear why that has been the case. Many Christian writers offer a compelling, if also slightly apocalyptic, view that the relationship between Rome and its traditions could not be severed soon enough by the start of the fifth

⁴⁴ Perfectly consistent with social debates within the *Jesusbewegung* and early Christianity (White 2004). For diversity in first- and second-century Rome, see Lampe 2003.

⁴⁵ For the fifth-century building at 1.15.7, see Heres (1982–83, 425–26) who suggests it is a *de novo* fifth-century construction. My conversations with Joanne Spurza and Janet DeLaine on site have suggested to the three of us that it is more likely a significant expansion of a preexisting building.



46. Plan of the Via della Foce and its environs. Modified from Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689.

century. The poetry of Prudentius, for example, might have echoed in more than one way for residents and visitors to Ostia. Refashioning the moment of Lawrence's martyrdom, the persecuting magistrate of the poem calls out to the tortured Roman deacon:

Climb up on the pyre that's been laid out.
 Lie down on that fitting little bed.
 Then, if you want, argue
 My god Vulcan means nothing to you.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ "conscende constratum rogum / decumbe digno lectulo / tunc, si libebit, disputa / nihil esse Vulcanum meum," Prud. *Pe* 2.353–56.

No doubt the taunt, which draws a sharp rhetorical contrast between the worship of Rome's traditional gods and Christianity, would have had a strong resonance at Ostia, where Vulcan and Lawrence formed two parts of the same sacred landscape. But was this exclusivist Christian identity advocated by men like Prudentius the norm of Late Antique social life, or was it the exception?

If we believe the poet, "the death of the holy martyr / was truly the death of the temples." Thus, by the late fourth century, even Rome's vestal virgins, paragons of the traditional religions, are supposed to have worshipped the cult of martyrs like Lawrence, espousing Christianity.⁴⁷ And yet, whereas polemical poets like the late fourth-century writer Prudentius often bespoke an image of confrontational Christian hostility to traditional cults, material evidence frequently undermines the ideas of open conflict these writers hoped to cement in the minds of their readers.⁴⁸ One need only recall the way in which Prudentius caricatured the Roman religious rite of the taurobolium, turning it into a black magic bloodbath, to know that the textual sources for the study of late fourth- or early fifth-century Roman religion are not exactly the best evidence.⁴⁹ It is the range and variety of the contemporary material evidence that provides a social-historical context and balance for these sources.

It is a stroke of good fortune, then, that at Ostia the nearly complete remains of a traditional sanctuary space (4.1.1–8, Map 1, no. 12) have been preserved just to the southwest of the intramural basilica, if one follows the path of the old town walls. This sanctuary was located just to the northeast of the Pianabella basilica, if one followed the extension of the *Cardo Maximus* back into town; and in light of Prudentius's verse quoted earlier, the chance fact that it once belonged to Cybele is coincidental but fitting. According to Roman legend, it was none other than a vestal virgin of the Claudian family, Claudia Quinta, who had succeeded in freeing Cybele's ship from the Tiber's mouth, ultimately bringing the Great Mother to Rome.⁵⁰ Six hundred years later, if we take the words of the poet at face value, members of that same upper

⁴⁷ "mors illa sancti martyris / mors vera templorum fuit . . . / aedemque, Laurenti, tuam / Vestalis intrat Claudia," Prud. *Pe* 2.509–10, 527–28.

⁴⁸ See Wharton 1995, 23–33; see also Jacobs 2010; and Hahn, Emmel, and Gotter 2008.

⁴⁹ See McLynn 1996.

⁵⁰ April 204 BCE, Livy 29.14.13. The event itself remained lore to Late Antique authors; see Amm. Marc. *RG* 22.9.5–7, Arnob. *Adv. nat.* 7.49 and Jul. *Orat.* 5.159c.

class were now abandoning the traditional cults and flocking to the city's churches.⁵¹

Using evidence from the Sanctuary of Magna Mater, we may be able to put the poet's rhetorical representation of life on the streets in greater context. For the sculptural evidence found there suggests several ways in which traditional sanctuaries remained relevant and respected spaces after dedications ceased, well into the fifth century.

THE SANCTUARY OF MAGNA MATER

Unlike the tenuous relationship that sometimes exists at Ostia between a building's identification and the archaeological material found within it, a wealth of epigraphic and sculptural evidence has confirmed the location of the sanctuary for the "Mother of the Gods."⁵² Located in the southern area of Region 4, this open space lies directly west of Ostia's *Cardo Maximus* and a southern town gate, commonly called the *Porta Laurentina* (Figure 39).⁵³ The Temple of Magna Mater (4.1.1) is located at the western end of this triangular sanctuary, along whose southern side stretches the remains of a portico (4.1.2), approximately 130 meters long. To the east lie the Temple of Attis; the Temple of Bellona; and the meeting rooms of the *Hastiferi* (spear bearers), a guild associated with the goddess Bellona (4.1.3–8).⁵⁴ Entrance to and exit from the sanctuary was located north of these buildings. In the vicinity of the entrance were several second-century CE rooms often identified with two groups of the cult of Cybele: the *Cannophoroi* (reed bearers) and *Dendrophoroi* (tree bearers).⁵⁵

Whether by chance or design, this sanctuary has preserved an aspect of Late Antique life that distinguishes it from any of the traditional spaces discussed thus far. It is not the one feature Late Antique scholars may

⁵¹ I agree with Roberts (1993, 4) that Prudentius's poetry offers more information regarding the growing devotion to martyr cults in the author's own region, Spain, at the end of the fourth century, than it does as a journalistic report of mores in Rome; see also McLynn 1996, 316–17.

⁵² For example, see "imagine[m] matris deum argenteam," *CIL* 14.34 [= *CCCA* 3.401] and "imagine[m] Attis (sic) argentiam," *CIL* 14.35 [= *CCCA* 3.402]; see also the collection numbers MM 41–91 in Rieger 2004, 290–301; as well as Calza 1946, 190–92; Calza-de Chirico 1946; and Berlioz 1997.

⁵³ Calza 1946, 186.

⁵⁴ See Rieger 2004, 100–04.

⁵⁵ On these groups and their role in the cult of Cybele, see Taylor 1912, 58–60; Meiggs 1973, 360–65; Rieger 2004, 115–17, 159–61; and Rieger 2007.

have been expecting: the *fossa sanguinis*, or the “pit of blood” referenced by Prudentius as the site where Cybele’s *taurobolia* took place. In fact, the Ostian sanctuary had no such space, in spite of early archaeologists’ quest to identify one. This “pit” (4.1.6) that Guido Calza first identified as the *fossa sanguinis* has now been shown to have been used as a cistern. Located in the easternmost corner of the sanctuary, abutting a tower in the old republican walls, it is a vaulted space, too shallow to have accommodated anyone comfortably, as Prudentius described the practice of the subterranean *taurobolium* – lending even further credence to McLynn’s convincing thesis that the poet invented the details of the rite to serve his own ideological purpose.⁵⁶

The feature that the Ostian sanctuary does preserve, however, is of an altogether different sort. Between 1858 and 1947, a combined total of twenty-two pieces of sculpture were unearthed from within the sanctuary’s walls, not to mention a series of dedicatory inscriptions related to the cult. They include multiple statues of Attis, imperial portraiture, reliefs of animals sacred to Cybele, and a wealth of epigraphic dedications that are important for earlier periods of Roman history.⁵⁷ In sum, the dedications found here date in range from the first century BCE to the late fourth century CE: from a neo-Attic altar of the twelve Olympian gods (Figure 47) to an image of Dionysus. This last piece, dedicated by a man named Volusianus during the late fourth century (Figure 48), was a reused first-century statue with a new fourth-century inscription. Seen together, these pieces suggest that, even as dedications ceased in the late fourth or perhaps early fifth century, the sanctuary continued to function as a repository for dedications and sculptural displays from much earlier ages.

The sanctuary became, in effect, a treasure chest of the town’s cultural heritage, not unlike the way sanctuary spaces, temples, and baths had

⁵⁶ Rieger 2004, 110–12, with figs. 82–83. For a reevaluation of evidence related to the *fossa sanguinis* from other Mediterranean sites, see also Alvar Ezquerro 2008, 261–75.

⁵⁷ For a description of individual pieces, see Rieger 2004, 281–301. Boin (2012, forthcoming PBSR 2013) discusses the archival material at the heart of reconstructing the Late Antique context and contextualizes the finds in light of “moving statues” in Late Antiquity; for a bibliography on that topic, see Machado 2009; Curran 1994; Lepelley 1994, and now, the new “Last Statues of Antiquity Project,” directed by R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins (<http://www.ox.ac.uk/statues/>, accessed June 11, 2012).



47. The altar of the twelve Olympian gods, Mus. Ost. inv. 120. From the sanctuary of Magna Mater. DAI-Rome 83.391.

functioned for centuries at Ostia and elsewhere throughout the Mediterranean, prior to Late Antiquity.⁵⁸ Of course, the fact that nineteenth-century excavators found so much material here – not at any other sanctuary or temple space – is hardly surprising when we consider that Magna Mater’s cult at Ostia was quite literally legendary by Late Antiquity. Livy had famously described Cybele’s arrival in the first century. He recounts the moment in which the ship was stuck at the shore, later to be loosened by Claudia Quinta. Ovid soon elaborated on the bare bones of that story, scripting a dramatic monologue for Claudia Quinita to deliver before the rescue operation. Two hundred years later, in the third century, Herodian

⁵⁸ See Auffart 2009 and Auffart 2008; see also Bauer and Witschel 2007. On statues as the “other population” of Rome’s Empire, see now Stewart 2003, 118–56.

embellished the tale yet again. It was he – not Livy or Ovid – who first suggested that Claudia Quinta was one of Rome’s vestal virgins.⁵⁹

As this literary history makes clear, the traditions of Magna Mater at Ostia were hardly fixed. The very elasticity of the story and the retelling of “the historical Magna Mater” reinvigorated the foundation with each new detail, just as Rome’s calendar did for traditional rites and just as the Christian gospels did for the life of Jesus.⁶⁰ Each writer, therefore, helped to construct and to articulate the memory of the Ostian sanctuary as an important historic landmark, such that each dedication needs to be analyzed with an attention to the ways in which the past was being reinvented with it at each turn. These dedications can now emerge as profoundly social performances, renewing the significance of the sanctuary and its stories in the eyes of Ostia’s residents and sojourners.

Until today, however, the individual pieces have only been used to write a history of the space as it evolved over time. This approach has led scholars to single out evidence for the performance of the *taurobolium*, enacted at the end of the fourth century, without any attention to the power that the space itself played in the construction of Late Antique identities, more broadly.⁶¹ This *taurobolium* was enacted by a man named Volusianus. His exact identity has long been sought and conjectured and the possible motives for his act abundantly analyzed. I believe that he was Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, the man who made a dedication at the Vatican Sanctuary of Cybele in 390 CE, although, it should be stressed, the only evidence for this assertion is the contemporaneous Vatican inscription. There is no further archaeological, epigraphic, or prosopographical evidence that can conclusively shed light on this question.⁶² There remain only tantalizing details. The same name, for instance, appears on columns at the Christian guesthouse, the so-called intramural basilica (3.1.4) in Region 3. It also appears etched on columns discovered housed in a guild-hall down the street (3.2.1–2), stacked as if off-loaded from a shipment set aside for a construction or restoration project. What these columns were intended for is unknown, and how some of them wound up at the

⁵⁹ Livy 29.14, Ovid *Fasti* 4.291ff., and Herodian 1.11.

⁶⁰ The role of the Roman calendar in the reinvention of tradition is discussed in [Chapter 6](#).

⁶¹ “Volusianus v(ir) c(larissimus) ex pra | efetis (sic) tauroboliatus d(onum) d(edit),” *AE* 1945, no. 55.

⁶² See *PLRE* 1 “Volusianus *signo* Lampadius 5.”



48. Dionysius, dedicated by Volusianus, from the sanctuary of Magna Mater. Author's photograph.

Christian guesthouse is also a matter for conjecture. These are the dead ends of Ostia about which I spoke in [Chapter 2](#). I doubt that they will lead to sure and satisfactory answers.

What is more profitable to explore is the cumulative nature of the statuary evidence that was found with Volusianus's dedication. Eight of the twenty-two pieces that comprised the earlier statuary display, for example, bear the name of Gaius Cartilius Euplus ([Figure 49](#)). The Cartilii had been members of Ostian social and political life since the first century BCE, and the highly visible nature of Gaius Cartilius's dedications helped to establish a link between his family and the traditions associated

with the sanctuary, perhaps as a means for his own social advancement, as other dedications from the sanctuary suggest.⁶³ I would also suggest that dedications like his increased the social status of the cult itself, making worshippers of Attis more respectable in the process. By the late fourth century, then, it would not have been surprising to see that a man like Volusianus, if he was a member of Late Antique aristocracy, also wanted to advertise their patronage of the cult. Many members of the Late Antique aristocracy appropriated historic *family* legacies in order to enhance their social prestige, notwithstanding our ability to verify their claims.⁶⁴ There is every reason to suggest that some appropriated historic *sanctuary* legacies, too, in order to do the same. Social prestige came through visible dedications and enhancements to a community's urban environment, whether in the form of a new Torah shrine, a Christian baptistery, or a reinscribed dedication at an old sanctuary space. In sum, the power of Roman tradition should not be overlooked simply because some members of Ostia's Christian community were trying to assert and, by imperial decree, force their own traditions on the Late Antique city. For some, the layers of the past, as preserved in sculpture, encouraged an engagement with history, not a dramatic break from it – whether they were Christian or not.

How visible were sculptural traditions in other urban settings? We need to put the Ostian evidence in some broader context before commenting further on its social and cultural significance.

THE ROLE OF THE SCULPTURAL PAST IN THE FIFTH-CENTURY PRESENT

According to a well-known passage from the *Theodosian Code*, the past and present were often seen side by side in statuary displays throughout the Late Antique Mediterranean. Published November 30, 382 CE, in the city of Edessa, it reads:

We decree that the temple (*aedem*) shall continually be open... in which images are reported to have been placed which must be measured by the value of their art rather than by their divinity. In order that the sacred space (*templum*) may be seen by the assemblages of the city and by frequent crowds,

⁶³ See, for example, the late second-century dedication of Publius Claudius Abascantius, formerly a public slave in Gaul (*CIL* 14.33). Abascantius also dedicated a statue to his son, upon appointment to the college of the Dendrophoroi (*CIL* 14.324).

⁶⁴ See Matthews 1967, 1–31; see also Hillner 2003, 139–40; see also Clark 1984, 83–89.



49. The reclining Attis, dedicated by Gaius Cartilius Euplus. From the sanctuary of Magna Mater. Museo Gregoriano Profano. Inv. no. 10785. Photograph from Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik 2439/1–6 Anderson 24130. From www.arachne.uni-koeln.de.

Your Experience shall preserve all celebrations of festivities . . . but in such a way that the performance of sacrifices forbidden therein may not be supposed to be permitted.⁶⁵

Legislation like this has often been at the center of a scholarly debate about the role of ancient statuary. It is clear today, for example, that many older statues were often displayed in updated surroundings that scholars have described as statuary “collections.” The word is not entirely unproblematic because, in a colonial context, the notion of display is tainted with ideas of power and triumph. When and where an artifact is exhibited imposes a meaning on it that the object itself might not originally have had.⁶⁶ That said, the emergent property of these kinds of collections is also a valuable phenomenon to consider. Whether through a repeated visit to the site of their display or through a careful study of iconography or by means of aesthetic experience, the past presents the viewer a range of opportunities for constructing his or her identity.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ *CTh* 16.10.8, translation by Pharr, with my reading of “sacred space” for “templum.”

⁶⁶ See Berlo et al. 1995, 6–10; see also Baxandall 1991, 33–41.

⁶⁷ Karp, Kreamer, and Lavine 1992, 2–6; see also Karp 1992, 19–33.

Examples abound of Late Antique sculpture organized, preserved, and protected in a variety of local contexts. Lea Stirling, who has surveyed the production of Late Antique statuettes in Gaul, has documented the continued display of mythological subjects like Cybele, Diana, and Dionysius in Late Antique contexts. Representations of these gods were often displayed alongside other statuary pieces from earlier periods and helped convey the education and status of the homeowners who exhibited them.⁶⁸ A group of thirteen statues from a Late Antique villa at Chiragan in the Midi-Pyrénées also evince a second-century CE style with similarities to known Late Roman pieces. For this reason Niels Hannestad has proposed that they were commissioned as a group in the fourth century as an homage toward the Antonine Age. Recently, however, Marianne Bergmann has proposed that they are earlier pieces, curated and collected over a much longer period of time. Whichever the case, displays of statuary, whether actually old or designed to be old, were not limited to one geographic region of the empire. Evidence from Sidi Bishr, east of Alexandria, suggests that a local patron there did commission an ensemble of “retrospective” works for his or her Late Antique domestic setting.⁶⁹

These examples complement the picture that Sarah Bassett has provided for the urban development of Late Antique Constantinople, where both Constantine and Theodosius relied on sculptural appropriation to add layers of ancient and dynastic meaning to the appearance of the new capital.⁷⁰ Concern for city aesthetics was not the sole prerogative of the emperors, either. A late fourth-century Christian named Lausus assembled and exhibited thirteen statues in a portico east of the Forum of Constantine. The collection once comprised such famous works of art as the Olympian Zeus by Pheidias and the Knidian Aphrodite by Praxiteles. Unfortunately, a fire in 475 CE destroyed Lausus’s efforts at preservation, and the collection survives only in textual sources. According to Bassett, however, Lausus conceived his antiquarian collection as a way to distance the Christian present from the problematic past without eliminating its vestiges entirely.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Stirling 2005, 27, 200–02 (Cybele statuary in a home in fifth-century Athens); see also Stirling 2008 (Corinth).

⁶⁹ Hannestad 1994, 117–23 (on evidence from Gaul and Alexandria). For Chiragan, see also now Bergmann 2007.

⁷⁰ Bassett 2004, 50–78 and 79–97.

⁷¹ Bassett 2004, 98–120 and 232–38.

At Ostia, too, more than one scholar has noted the accumulation of sculptures that were discovered in the House of the Fortuna Annonaria (5.2.8, see Map 1, north of no. 11), a residence that remained occupied until the sixth century even though none of the statues originally date to this late period.⁷² Here, excavators found at least eight identifiable statues of figures sculpted in both Greek and Roman imperial styles. These included the head of an “archaistic” kore figure; a head of Athena, modeled on a work of the classical sculptor Alcámenes; a portrait of an Antonine female; and a third-century CE portrait of a Roman male.⁷³ Yet another piece from the same group was entirely reworked in the Late Roman period: a statue of Diana wearing a chiton, standing alongside a hunting dog. This piece speaks to the prestige that could accrue to a statue, or a collection of statues, over time. Because the drapery of the chiton above Diana’s waist is “heavily reworked,” Hannestad identified the upper torso as having come from an earlier sculpture. The folds in the drapery on the lower torso, by contrast, show a much better state of preservation. This facet of the statue’s preservation has been attributed to its “complete overhaul” in Late Antiquity and to its status as “a valuable collector’s item,” whose importance to the family was so great that they paid for its repair, not its replacement – a phenomenon also hinted at by archaeological material from Rome. There, on the Caelian hill, the *gens Valeria* took an active interest in preserving a “collection” of statues and inscriptions through at least the sixth century.⁷⁴

THE RESONANCE OF OLD DEDICATIONS AT OSTIA

This survey provides important context for understanding Volusianus’s late fourth-century dedication. It suggests that care for a first-century statue was entirely consistent with the social world of Volusianus’s day. What is more remarkable is that this dedication was preserved in a sanctuary space, not displayed in a house. Thus, it may have spoken to people far beyond Volusianus’s own social circle. What did it and its brethren say to a fifth-century viewer? How can we begin to answer that question?

⁷² Stirling 2005, 169–72; see also Heres 1982–83, 542–48, no. 80.

⁷³ For this description, see Hannestad 1994, 102–06 and figs. 65–66 [= Mus. Ost. inv. no. 84 = Helbig⁴ 4.3031]. For the Diana statue quoted in this paragraph, see Hannestad 1994, 103.

⁷⁴ For discussion of archaeological material from 256–382 CE, see “Domus Valerii” in *LTUR* 2.207. For the family’s continued habitation in Rome in the sixth century, see “Xenodochium Valerii,” in *ibid.* 5.217.

Stephen Greenblatt has proposed one way forward, suggesting that we study a piece's "resonance," that is, "the power of the displayed object[s] to reach out beyond [their] formal boundaries to a larger world, to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which [they have] emerged."⁷⁵ Moving beyond a strict analysis of aesthetic, or formal, aspects of a single artwork, this approach aims to recover the potential meaning of an individual object through a study of its historical context – a method that mirrors the scholarship of reader response theory and also memory studies. The latter, for example, aims to recover the multiplicity of memories that people summon when they engage with the objects and features of their surroundings. Greenblatt's method is a natural extension of this approach.

The search for the resonance within a piece, or a collection, thus requires careful attention to the culturally determined ways in which a viewer might have responded to these objects. This section explores the cultural resonance of one specific statue from the sanctuary to show how that interpretative process can be brought to bear on the evidence. In this way, I suggest a model for understanding how the site of the sanctuary remained socially and culturally relevant after the date of the last known dedication. This approach will naturally produce many more interpretations than I can or wish to consider here, but the goal is to propose a set of lenses for viewing the extant evidence. To clarify, I am not proposing that the Late Antique viewer could see what he or she wanted to see in a piece of ancient statuary. I am suggesting that older statuary could and often did "resonate" with Late Antique debates. In short, the statues were both static snapshots of the Roman past, representing the world as it once was, and a vibrant reminder of the world as it could continue to be: a world still filled with gods, or at least representations of them – a fact of life that no doubt posed an existential threat to those Christians who understood their own identity in much more rigorous terms than their peers.⁷⁶

The resonance of an individual piece like that of Attis suggests how these processes took place. Representations of Attis, whose spring resurrection was an important feature of the Roman and Late Roman religious calendar, may have "resonated" with fourth- and fifth-century society as

⁷⁵ Greenblatt 1991, 42.

⁷⁶ On Christians and statues destruction, see Stewart 1999; see also Nasrallah 2010.



50. Attis-Dionysus statue dedicated by Gaius Cartilius Euplus. From the sanctuary of Magna Mater. Author's photograph.

it began to assimilate this god's story to the Easter narrative.⁷⁷ One statue of Attis, dedicated in the second century, shows him seated on a lion, an animal sacred to Cybele (Figure 50).⁷⁸ Carved from Italian marble, at present 1.61 meters tall, Attis is shown wearing a so-called Phrygian cap, a symbol of the god's Anatolian origins, and a crown of vine leaves.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Calza-de Chirico 1946, 218–19, no. 11; see also Vermaseren 1966, 22–30, pl. 18, no. 1.

⁷⁸ Animals sacred to Cybele include: Diod. Sic. 3.58 (panther), Cat. *Carm.* 63 (lion), and Apul. *Meta.* 11.8 (bear). Similar friezes from Lydia depict the deer as sacred to the goddess (Calza-de Chirico 1946, 214–15). The inscription reads: “C. Cartilius Euplus | ex monitu deae d[onum] d[edit],” Mus. Ost. inv. 161. On its second-century CE context, see Rieger 2004, 141–42.

⁷⁹ See Roller 1999, 237–59.

This latter attribute, as well as the young god's long, feminine mantle, associates him with the god Dionysus, a syncretism that Volusianus's own Dionysius dedication also evokes. This assimilation is not in itself surprising. The circular altar dedicated to the twelve Olympian deities is evidence of the umbrella role that the "Mother of the Gods" had assumed as early as the first century BCE. This representation of Zeus, in turn, may have "resonated" with later, fourth-century representations of the emperor as Jupiter, such as Constantine's own colossus, thus leading to the preservation of the earlier pieces. The point here is not to constrain the visual associations of the Ostian evidence but to reconstitute the web of their Late Antique connections.

The mythical story of Attis's death and resurrection, for example, often represented in dedications by the presence of the pine tree, was a central feature of the Cybele cult and "resonated" in many ways throughout the Late Antique city. Like Magna Mater, Attis, was honored during his own religious "holy week" that took place at the end of March.⁸⁰ Accompanied by a series of games, banquets, sacrifice, and music, all of which were presided over by Cybele's priests, the Galli; her priestesses; temple attendants; and other staff.⁸¹ This festival period, although it lasted for only seven days, became a highly visible event in the life of the capital throughout the city's history. According to the Codex-Calendar of 354, the festival commenced with the *Canna intrat* on March 15, followed by *Arbor intrat* on March 22, *Sanguem* on March 24, the *Hilaria* on March 25, *Requetio* on March 26, *Lavatio* on March 27, and ended with the *Initium Caiani* on March 28.⁸² Several of these feasts and their public processions remained prominent in the late fourth and fifth centuries, perhaps well into the time of Gregory I.⁸³

The enduring persistence of these festivals, whatever their precise fourth- or fifth-century shape, is an important point of departure for exploring how contemporary society invested and transformed its cultural heritage with new meanings. This adaptability would not have been unique to the late Roman world. Many scholars have studied the ways

⁸⁰ Quoting Lancellotti 2002, 83.

⁸¹ Vermaseren 1977, 107–10; see also "Gallos," *RE* 7.674–82 and "Gallos," *RAC* cols. 984–1034.

⁸² *CIL* 1², 260; see also *Inscr. Ital.* 13 (ed. Degraasi 1963) 237–62, 428–33. For each festival, see Vermaseren 1966.

⁸³ Salzman 1990, 83–91, 164–69; and Salzman 1984, 46–50; see also Latham 2007, 248–54.

in which the practitioners of early Roman religion reinterpreted Greek and Etruscan religious rites to suit their own social, political, and cultural needs.⁸⁴ Mary Beard has specifically shown how Roman imperial poets offered imaginative reinterpretations of older religious festivals that may have lost their original meaning.⁸⁵ It would not be surprising to imagine this same interpretative engagement continuing throughout the late Roman world.

As early as the second century, for example, some Christian leaders in Rome had felt compelled to address the popularity of Attis's cult. In a sermon attributed to Hippolytus, a priest encourages his flock to turn away from traditional religious practices associated with Attis by emphasizing the god's similarities to Christianity. In this way, by engaging with the Attis myth and reinterpreting it, Hippolytus attempts to appropriate the story of the born and resurrected priest.⁸⁶ However, Christian leaders were not the only ones reinterpreting the Attis myth for specific audiences. In the mid-fourth century, Attis's death and rebirth provided the emperor Julian an allegorical and philosophical narrative to advance his own Neoplatonist ideas about the fall and ascent of humankind.⁸⁷ What these examples reveal is that, even as individuals engaged with the same myths, rituals, or festivals of their shared landscape, the process of reinterpretation could result in competing points of view or opposing concepts of tradition. As Beard has shown, it was precisely this kind of "reinterpretation," that is, the creation of new meaning, that helped to guarantee the survival of even the most obscure Roman religious festivals dating back to republican times. So, in much the same way, the fifth-century writer Macrobius could write an encomium to classical literary culture and the elements of Rome's traditional religious landscape contained within it; while his near contemporary, the poet Prudentius, could rhetorically dismiss the same as a legacy with no enduring value.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ See, for example, North 2000, 13–20, 54–62; as well as the case study of the *Carmen Saeculare* in Feeney (1998, 32–39). For *interpretatio graeca*, see Torelli 2000.

⁸⁵ See Beard 1987.

⁸⁶ Hipp. *Rel.* 5.6.3–7 and 9.7–11 [= Beard, North, and Price 1998, 2 no. 12.7E(iv)]; see also Vermaseren 1977, 177–82; Borgeaud 1996, 169–83; Fear 1996; and Lampe 2003, 349–50.

⁸⁷ Jul. *Orat.* 5, 362 CE; see also the emperor's contemporary, Sallustius (*De diis et mundo*, 4.10.10).

⁸⁸ Beard 1987. See also Cameron 2011, 231–72. On Macrobius and Prudentius, I am grateful to Dennis Trout for sharing his work (forthcoming) with me.

The adaptive and accumulative quality of the Roman religious system thus provides a compelling framework for evaluating the power of the second-century Attis sculpture in its late Roman context. I would propose that, during the fourth and fifth centuries, the Attis image was invested with new, contemporary meanings as the cultural conversation about the relevance of Rome's religious traditions in an increasingly Christian world was taking place around it. Seen in this way, the statue can become a part of the dialogue, not a mute relic of the past. A social environment that fostered, or even promoted, active engagement with the past, not a virulent separation from it, allowed a statue like the Attis statue to speak to several Late Antique audiences simultaneously. This kind of dialogue, I propose, was not tangential to Ostia's social transformation. It was shaped the identities of those who participated in it. Indeed, if the distinction between those who held a more militant understanding of their Christian identity and those who had a more "civilian" understanding of their Christianity identity really is at the root of the word *paganus*, as I proposed in [Chapter 1](#), the Ostian evidence may shed light on the contours of this complex Christian social world. Many Christians no doubt did reinterpret the Attis myth in more general, philosophical terms, and some could have used it to argue that a cultural fascination with Attis translated naturally into the worship of Christ. Christians, in short, did not need to see Christ in Attis to appreciate the statue's cultural capital – even if their association with it may have inspired their more rigorous Christian peers to chastise them for their connections to traditional culture.⁸⁹ Perhaps for that reason Augustine rebuked the man in his fifth-century congregation who wore the hat of Attis (*pilleatus*) and still called himself a Christian; and the anonymous author of the *Carmen contra paganos*, perhaps Damasus, castigated the audience of that broadside for the same.⁹⁰ At issue was the extent of Christian social assimilation to the world of Rome, not necessarily any errant theological "belief" in multiple gods.⁹¹

Objects, then, despite the passive role that our hostile sources assign to them, may have been the ones that inspired discussion. One iconographic feature of the Attis statue may have had particular resonance for a Late Antique viewer: the god's androgynous appearance. In the

⁸⁹ See Fear 1996.

⁹⁰ O'Donnell 2005, 184, discussing Aug. *io. ev. tr.* 7.6.

⁹¹ Boin 2013; see also the discussion in [Chapter 1](#).

Ostian figure, the combination of long locks, a youthful complexion, feminized dress, and *salle de femme* riding style all serve to emphasize Attis's divinity. For Roman writers this androgyny signified, or even determined, Attis's priestly role. Cybele's own priests, the Galli, are alleged to have performed self-castration in order to gain this same mark of distinction, differentiating themselves from the male and female worshippers and perhaps symbolically cutting themselves off from the material world.⁹² Perhaps not surprisingly, the Galli were at the fore of a cultural debate about gender roles in ancient religion and society.⁹³ According to a recent interpretation, it was not the "exoticism" of their gender transgression that attracted such widespread attention, but rather the "transcendence" of their position as a *tertium genus* or *tertius sexus*, a "third gender."⁹⁴ By uniting male and female, the Galli could and did, in effect, acquire the status of prodigies, "instances of the sacred breaking through to the level of the mundane";⁹⁵ and they would have appeared as such to any Roman who chose to view them in a sacred light.

Attis's role as shaping cultural perceptions about gender and divinity continued long beyond the time of the Ostian dedication in the second century, however. His androgynous appearance echoed – indeed, presaged – an aspect of Christian iconographic tradition that began to flourish during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries: namely, androgynous representations of Christ. As Thomas Mathews has observed, representations of Christ from Greece to Ravenna frequently draw on this same androgynous artistic tradition.⁹⁶ Some of these depictions postdate the Attis figure by, at a minimum, two hundred years, and Christians themselves often assigned a far different meaning to this representation of male-female duality than what traditional Roman society might have assumed. Some, like Origen, encouraged castration for the same reasons

⁹² See Kuefler 2001, 246–54; see also Latham 2012.

⁹³ This topic is well treated by the secondary sources already cited. For ancient discussions, see Aug. *CD* 7.24, Firmicius Maternus *De errore profanarum religionum* 4.2, Tatian *Oratio ad Graecos* 8.2, and Justin Martyr *Apologia* 1.15.

⁹⁴ For the former term, see Prud. *Pe.* 10.1071 and *SHA* "Alex. Sev.," 23.7; for the latter, Tert. *Ad nat.* 1.20.4,

⁹⁵ Roscoe 1996, 204.

⁹⁶ These Christian visual traditions may also rely on Pauline and/or Gnostic theology (Mathews 2003, 135–41). For Pauline tradition, see Galatians ("οὐκ ἐνι Ἰουδαίῳ οὐδὲ Ἑλλήνι, οὐκ ἐνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἐνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ: πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἔσπε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ," Gal. 3.28); see also the Coptic Gospel of Thomas 22.

as the Galli.⁹⁷ Others used the concept of gender transgression to speak not about the here and now but about life after death. For still other segments of society that viewed the body and all its actions in a pejorative light, the androgynous trope became an alternate way of renouncing and neutralizing the dangers of sexuality.⁹⁸

The extent of this third-, fourth-, and fifth-century dialogue within Christian discourse suggests that a statue like that of Attis at Ostia may have produced an opportunity for Christians and traditionalists (and all those in between) to engage one another on a set of social and religious issues for which there was yet no consensus. It was a walk near a statue of Serapis in Minucius Felix's dialogue, after all, that had generated a debate among friends about the role of Christian belief and customs in Roman culture more broadly. The conversations that might have ensued after passing the statue of Attis may have come about in a similar way and included discussions about such topics as the efficacy of sexual renunciation in contemporary religious practices, such as Christian asceticism, and debates about the increasing role of celibacy in the priesthood. Both were subjects of vigorous intellectual debate in Late Antiquity. In this way, the enduring presence of an older statue may have been a cipher for a city whose members were diverse, some of whom wished to preserve an aspect of their town's heritage at the same time that they were engaged in a conversation about the changing nature of the present. Rarely does the past itself ever call out and demand to be left behind; people usually do that by speaking on its behalf.⁹⁹ Christian engagement with and appropriation of these themes of Roman social life may thus have been the very thing that helped the movement grow during the fourth and fifth centuries, through the same processes of cultural hybridization and outreach examined earlier.

THE POWER OF THE PAST

In her study of Christian reaction to ancient monuments, Helen Saradi-Mendelovici concludes that it was local bishops who occasionally instigated the destruction of the old temples and sanctuaries, encouraging despoiling and destruction, especially in cases in which the local

⁹⁷ For example, Origen *Comm. in Matt.* 19.12 and 15.1–5.

⁹⁸ Brown 1988, 168–70; see also T. Mathews 2003, 138; and Roscoe 1996, 204–05 and 217–30.

⁹⁹ See Jacobs 2010.

population needed further impetus to convert. For the most part, however, it was abandonment and gradual decay that were the primary causes for the “death of the temples,” a result of the “ambiguous attitude” that the Late Antique population cultivated toward the art and architecture of the past.¹⁰⁰ On the one hand, popular Christian superstitions invested these places with mischievous spirits.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, local citizens, slaves, and perhaps even out-of-town visitors might have had aesthetic reasons for continuing to frequent a town’s temples and sanctuaries in the late fourth or fifth century.

This chapter advocates an additional point of focus: It proposes a model whereby material remains are allowed to participate in the formation of cultural identity. Thus, even as churches such as Sant’Ercolano, Sant’Aurea, the Pianabella basilica, and the basilica within the walls were popping up across the fifth-century Ostian landscape, mostly on its margins, I believe that the Sanctuary of Magna Mater retained a large part of its social significance during this time, in part because the roads passing all these monuments remained vital parts of the street network.¹⁰² Such an approach to fifth-century Ostia is important because, as Ivan Karp has written, “identities and experiences never derive from single segments of society.”¹⁰³ Above all, this model suggests the outlines of a much more complicated social process taking place behind the scenes of the fifth-century town than has been heretofore studied: one in which we might be witnessing the Sanctuary of Magna Mater itself change from cult center to cultural center during the rise of the Christian Roman Empire.

A site situated in a familiar location, for example, or a collection of historical artworks, can provide a sense of stability and tradition in the midst of other social and cultural changes. Specifically, “[people] will add new information if they can conserve what they already know along side it; or, if they can assimilate the new information gradually, they will allow it to replace previous understandings.”¹⁰⁴ According to this model

¹⁰⁰ Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 49–50, 60–61. See also Trombley 1993, 2.143–72 (Syrian countryside); Hahn et al. 2008; Frankfurter 2008 and Frankfurter 2005a; and the brief discussion by Cameron 2011, 798–801.

¹⁰¹ For example, see Maximus of Turin *Sermon* 107, or the Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion 15 [= Maas 2000, nos. 4.2.9 and 4.3.6].

¹⁰² For a similar pattern of development on the margins of other Italian cities, see Cantino Wataghin 1995.

¹⁰³ Karp 1992, 3.

¹⁰⁴ Perin 1992, 208.

of identity formation, I propose that one of the reasons fifth-century Christianity gained a foothold at Ostia was due to the fact that members of this social group made sure to conserve an important aspect of their town's past. The sanctuary itself would have encouraged a "dynamic, not static, depiction of history and culture" and offered the late Roman resident or sojourner to Ostia an opportunity to reflect on contemporary social or cultural conversations.¹⁰⁵

Thus, while churches and the performance of Christian rituals within their walls fell under the authority of bishops and clergy, other sites throughout town remained open avenues for the discussion of identity, forming an ambiguous part of the topography of power.¹⁰⁶ In sum, the idea that some people at Ostia added new experiences like Christian worship, or devotion to a martyr cult like Saint Lawrence, "alongside" visits to traditional religious spaces is, to my mind, an appealing one. It is one in which the loudest voices of the day may not be the most representative voices of the time, and it evokes life on the street not in terms of polar opposites, characterized by hostility or indifference, but in terms of a daily life lived in two places at once – that is, somewhere in between.

¹⁰⁵ Kreamer 1992, 371.

¹⁰⁶ In general, see Gauthier 1999; see also De Jong, Theuvs, and van Rhijn 2001.

The sixth and seventh centuries: A city in motion, shifting traditions

We do not know exactly when the practice of traditional cults came to an end at Ostia. Nor, do I suspect, will we ever know for certain. It is true that a textual source like John Lydus mentions the cult of Maioumas at Ostia during the sixth century. But are these words history or memory – a report about the festivals that fill contemporary life or a projection of the way life should be, an antiquarian investigation into the Roman past?¹ The nature of the evidence makes it hard to diagnose the state of traditional cult practices in the later period.² Other memories passed down about Ostia in the sixth and seventh centuries are unconcerned with the topic of the town's old cults, preferring, like Isidore of Seville, to dwell on the source of its name or, like Stephanus of Constantinople, to specify the identity of its founder.³ These sources tell us much about the lasting presence of Ostia in the contemporary sixth- and seventh-century intellectual climate, but they offer little help regarding the nature of Rome's traditional religions during that time. Material sources from the Mediterranean, by contrast, have only proved helpful in limited numbers, such as the papyrus fragments that attest to the performance of the cult

¹ “τὴν παράλιον καταλαμβάνοντες πόλιν τὴν λεγομένην Ὀστίαν οἱ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς Ῥώμης τελοῦντες ἡδυπαθεῖν ἠνείχοντο ἐν τοῖς θαλαττίοις ὕδασιν ἀλλήλους ἐμβάλλοντες. ὅθεν καὶ Μαΐουμᾶς ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἑορτῆς καιρὸς ὠνομάζετο,” John Lydus *De Mens.* 4.80. For a discussion of the work, see Maas 1992, 45–56, 61–66.

² Taylor 1912, 80–82.

³ “Ancus Marcius ex filia Numae Pompilii natus. hic urbem in exitu Tiberis condidit quae et peregrinas merces exciperet et hostem moraretur, quam ab ipso situ Ostiam appellavit,” Isid. *Etym.* 15.1.56. For Numa as the founder, see Stephanus (“καὶ Πολύβιος ἔκτῳ ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ πόλιν Ὀστίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίδος. ἐκτίσθη δ' ὑπὸ Μαρκίου βασιλέως, τοῦ ἀπὸ Νουμᾶ τρίτου, ὡς Διονύσιός φησιν ἐν Ῥωμαϊκῇ ἀρχαιολογίᾳ,” under the entry “Ὀστία, πόλις Ἰταλίας,” *Ethnica*, ed. Dindorf (1825) [= often cited as Polyb. 6.11a.5–6]).

of Isis at Philae in the sixth century.⁴ This evidence, too, raises more questions than it answers. Is the resilience of the cult of Isis at Philae the verifiably last attested performance of traditional religious rites in the Late Antique world, or was it, too, still a dying gasp of a passing age?

This book has, by and large, not been concerned with those questions. As the previous two chapters have shown, there is a certain inadequacy to this “ticking-clock approach” to the demise of traditional religion in the Late Roman Empire because attempts to pinpoint the precise time and day of death for traditional Roman religion generally fail to take account of “religion” itself as a cultural system, that is, one whose “signs and symbols” pervade the society at large and remain, in some ways, inseparable from the practices of daily life. How one system was transformed into another is, in some ways, the richer historical question.⁵ It is only by taking into account the persistent traces and gradual disappearance of specific signs and symbols, as well as the cultural memories that they fostered, that a balanced picture of social transformation and change emerges. As the previous chapters have shown, the durability of sacred architecture and the lasting effect of sacred spaces themselves on the urban dynamic, as well as their artistic accoutrements such as public statuary collections, remain vital evidence for investigating how that transformation took place.

The longevity of Ostia’s traditional cult spaces and the gradual emergence of Christian architectural space during the same time are two themes that this chapter reprises in its effort to understand the how the fourth- and fifth-century city became the social world of the sixth century. What has been left out of the treatments of this cityscape so far, however, is an understanding of how the town’s rituals transformed and were transformed by the urban spaces around it. Christian rituals like the celebration of the Eucharist and the sacraments of baptism became inscribed in the late Roman landscape during this time, as the construction of a large intramural church and, later, a purpose-built baptistery attest.⁶ Other rituals proliferated. A shared sense of life after death and the need to create a Christian community of the living and the dead explain the burial patterns at the Pianabella basilica. This evidence

⁴ See Dijkstra 2004.

⁵ See Stroumsa 2009, 56–83; see also now Knust and Várhelyi 2011.

⁶ On the celebration of the liturgy in Late Antiquity, see de Blaauw 1994.

suggests that the community revered both the bones and the story of the person associated with the tomb.

Unfortunately, the name of that designated holy man or woman is lost to us today. The archaeological evidence makes clear, however, that architecture and sacred space contributed as much to the shaping of a communal identity as did rituals like the Eucharist celebrated within it. It is one example of a Mediterranean-wide phenomenon whereby Christian sacred space promoted the construction of a Christian community, or family, centered on the relics of the dead.⁷ These practices often show a clear continuity with traditional Roman funerary practices – such as the *refrigerium*, or offering to the deceased, celebrated in conjunction with a communal meal.⁸ A mensa, or funerary tabletop, carved with marine iconography and dated to the sixth century testifies to the continuing social context for burials in Late Antique Ostia.⁹ This social and cultural continuity suggests that the emergence of visible Christian architecture, although it represents a significant step in the transformation of the Late Antique town, does not adequately begin to capture how that process might have taken place during the fifth and sixth centuries. Christian architecture and the performance of Christian rituals need to be seen as participants in an urban dialogue that extends beyond the physical settings of either.

That is the goal of this final chapter. To do it, it will be necessary to take a different approach to the evidence than the one used in this book so far. Instead of focusing on one or two buildings erected during a specific century and the power of the past at any one point in time, this chapter turns its attention to the sites and paths used for all rituals throughout the town. This element of the landscape has often been overlooked as a rich source for study, perhaps because time and ritual are two of the most challenging elements to recover archaeologically. Here, however, by considering how the local festival calendar merged with the developing Christian commemorative calendar, I propose one way to capture some of the rhythms that drove Ostia's Late Antique urban development. These rhythms promoted an environment where the traditional cult sites and the emerging Christian monuments developed distinct centers, or “districts,” of power. By examining the fourth through sixth centuries with an eye on

⁷ See now Yasin 2009 and Yasin 2005; see also Rebillard 2009.

⁸ MacMullen 2009, 33–94; see also Yasin 2010, 54–91.

⁹ Mus. Ost. 617; see Calza 1949–51, 134.

the *longue durée*, this chapter shows how Christian time emerged from within that larger urban landscape as the dominant force, eventually replacing the sacred calendar of traditional religion and completing the transformation of Ostia into a Christian city.¹⁰ The result is intended to be the first, tentative step toward understanding the image of Ostia's sacred landscape in the sixth and seventh centuries.

The first part of the chapter documents three examples of lasting traditional festivals that all animated one region of the Late Roman town, reconfirming the strong relationship between ritual, place, and calendar that existed since the city's foundation. This material lays the groundwork for the second part of the chapter. There, I turn to the stories of Ostia's martyrs and their eponymous feasts to suggest how fifth- or sixth-century hagiography invested the city's churches with a powerful cultural currency. The emergence of Christian feast days, as we will see, had a significant topographical component to them and helped to position the churches associated with them as legitimate social and cultural counterweights to the lure of the urban sanctuaries. Only in the late sixth century at the earliest, I suggest, did an organized, coordinated effort begin to present and package Ostia's disparate Christian heritage as a unified urban program, in part, to attract a steady stream of Late Antique pilgrims and tourists. This chapter concludes by discussing some of the sixth- and seventh-century developments that began to affect Ostia and the Italian peninsula during the same time.

The continued visibility of traditional cults

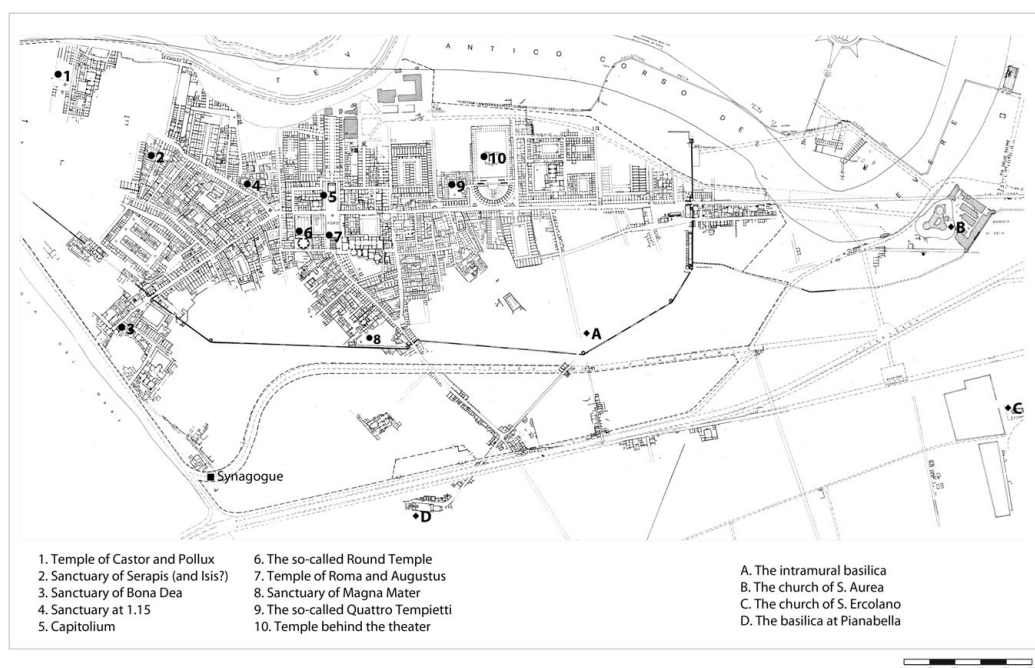
CASTOR AND POLLUX

In 359 CE, rough winds prevented the grain fleet from docking at the Roman harbor, Portus.¹¹ Hoping to calm the sea and a burgeoning city riot over famine, the urban prefect of Rome, Tertullus, went to Ostia's Temple of Castor and Pollux to make a sacrifice.¹² The temple itself was situated on the inner harbor at the mouth of the Tiber, atop the

¹⁰ See Braudel 1958.

¹¹ "moxque divini arbitrio numinis, quod auxit ab incunabulis Romam perpetuamque fore respondit, dum Tertullus apud Ostia in aede sacrificat Castorum, tranquillitas mare mollivit, mutatoque in austrum placidum vento, velificatione plena portum naves ingressae frumentis horrea refererunt," Amm. Marc. *RG* 19.10.4.

¹² *PLRE* 1 "Tertullus 2."



51. Plan of Ostia showing the distribution of sanctuaries, temples, churches, and synagogue. After Archivio Disegni, Ostia Antica 11689.

vaulted bathhouses of tugboats and service vessels, adjacent to the so-called Palazzo Imperiale in the northwest part of Region 3 (Map 1, no. 1; Figure 51).

Given the history of the site, it is not surprising that Tertullus chose its location for his sacrifice.¹³ Since the Hellenistic age and the time of the Roman Republic, the Dioscuri had been protectors of seafaring. The two deities served as protectors of the imperial corn supply in the town's Sacello del Silvano.¹⁴ Even during the late second century CE, after shipping had moved to Trajan's harbor, it is worth remembering that a wealthy Ostian notable, Publius Lucilius Gamala, commemorated his own restoration of the temple. Honoring the Dioscuri, after all, was part of a long tradition of paying reverence to the imperial family, in particular the adopted heirs. Nearly two centuries later, it was at this

¹³ See Chapter 2; see also Heinzelmann and Martin 2002, 5–15.

¹⁴ On the Dioscuri as seafarers, see Xypnetos 1982–83; more generally, see Poulsen 1992. For Ostia, see Taylor 1912, 22–26; and Bakker 1994, 65–66. The Gamala dedication is *CIL* 14.376. Imperial cult associations date back to Augustus. Poulsen (1992) has collected the evidence. The associations dwindle at the end of the first century CE but witness a revival under Antoninus Pius and his successors.

temple, “by the judgment of a divine will, which had protected Rome from its cradle and answered that the city would be without end,” that a calm came over the sea.¹⁵ The hostile wind changed into a favorable southern gale, the boats pulled safely into Portus, and the warehouses were replenished. The prefect Tertullus, having successfully averted an urban crisis, had saved the residents of the western capital from starvation and, most likely, had preserved his political career.

From the way Ammianus Marcellinus portrayed these events, Ostia’s Temple of Castor and Pollux was more than a building. Regardless of size or status, by the fourth century it had become a “monument,” a fundamental part of the harbor landscape whose significance accrued less from its design than from “a layer of events” that had invested the structure with social and cultural value.¹⁶ In the words of architectural historian Kevin Lynch, the building could be said to function as a “landmark,” a structure whose “key physical characteristic . . . is singularity, some aspect that is unique or memorable in context.”¹⁷ Rutilius Namatianus, writing in the first decades of the fifth century, may be alluding to this same landmark in verses he wrote describing his departure from Rome. After invoking the historic role that the Tiber played in fostering Rome’s growth from the time of Romulus to the present, he calls on Castor (and Pollux) to watch over his ship as it sets sail.¹⁸ It would not be out of character for a man who had also been urban prefect to draw attention to a monument that had figured prominently in received traditions about his predecessor, Tertullus.

Tertullus’s visit, however, as recounted by Ammianus, is important in another respect because it offers a glimpse of the continued nature of performance and ritual that were essential elements of Roman religion

¹⁵ The events take place at the “portum Augusti,” Amm. Marc. 19.10.1–4.

¹⁶ The distinction between “building” and “monument” is the starting point for a collection of essays, published in 2003, *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*. The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center lent a special poignancy to the subject. In the introduction and epilogue, for example, the editors discuss the notion of an “unintentional monument,” whose significance accrues not from its inception but “from a layer of events” (Nelson and Olin 2003, 1–8); see also Nelson 2003.

¹⁷ Lynch 1960, 78.

¹⁸ “ipse triumphali redimitus arundine Thybris / Romuleis famulas usibus aptet aquas; / atque opulenta tibi placidis commercia ripis / devehat hinc ruris, subvehat inde maris. / pande, precor, gemino pacatum Castore pontum,” Rut. Namat. 1.151–55. For his term as prefect, id. 1.159–60.

from its earliest days.¹⁹ It is clear that the urban prefect and the temple priests – and perhaps even concerned groups of hungry Romans, slaves included – gathered at the monument to perform the necessary rites. Traffic on the via della Foce, the road leading to the mouth of the Tiber, may have seen a slight or even a significant increase. Sacrifice and temple combined to create an urban spectacle.²⁰ Such citywide displays, specifically associated with the cult of Castor and Pollux, continued into the mid-fifth century, when, according to the Calendar of Polemius Silvius, Ostia commemorated January 27 with games in honor of Castor and Pollux (*ludi Castorum*).²¹ A Late Antique travel writer communicates the memory of this same festival, if not the actual practice of it. According to the writer of the *Cosmographia*, which may date to the fifth century, Romans were still gathering at Ostia “with pleasant solemnity to celebrate the festival of Castor and Pollux” during that time.²²

Whether any of these festivals involved sacrifice is unclear, but an explanatory note in the calendar of Polemius Silvius should alert us to the fact that the antiquity of the place where they were performed was just as important as what happened when people arrived: The festivals took place at Ostia, “the town that had been the first colony of Rome” (*quae prima facta colonia est*).²³ In this way, even as Rome changed, the rituals that tied the old capital to the sea remained rooted in memories of the past.²⁴ These memories did not need to be homogeneous or identical to ensure that a site like the Temple of Castor and Pollux remained socially significant. Many people trekked to Rome’s shore to honor to the Dioscuri for reasons that we have long lost. One wonders, in fact, whether a Late Antique Christian memory of the Hellenistic Jew Paul, whose eponymous basilica on the via Ostiensis became a landmark of its

¹⁹ See Wissowa 1912, 555–59; see also Beard, North, and Price 1998, 1.42–54.

²⁰ On modern parallels for the ceremonial and public aspects of ritual, creating a “civil religion,” see Bellah 1967, 5–9; see also Geertz 1973, 87–125.

²¹ *CIL* 12, 257; see also *Inscr. Ital.* 13.403–04 and Salzman 1990, 242–44.

²² “Fluviorum rex, pulcher Tiberis . . . insulam facit inter portum urbis et Ostiam civitatem, ubi populus Romanus cum urbis praefecto vel consule Castorum celebrandorum causa egreditur sollemnitate iocunda,” *Cosmographia* 1.25.5–24; see also now Lizzi Testa 2010.

²³ *Inscr. Ital.* 13.263–64.

²⁴ Note that the *Cosmographia* also describes the Forum Boarium as the place of Cacus (“iuxta Forum Boarium quem Cacus dicuntur,” *Cosmographia* 1.25.11–12), thereby articulating memories of Hercules and the Ara Maxima to his Late Antique audience.

own during the fifth and sixth centuries, contributed to the celebratory air. For he himself had arrived in Italy, or so it was supposed, on a vessel of that very name, *Dioskouroi*.²⁵

ISIS

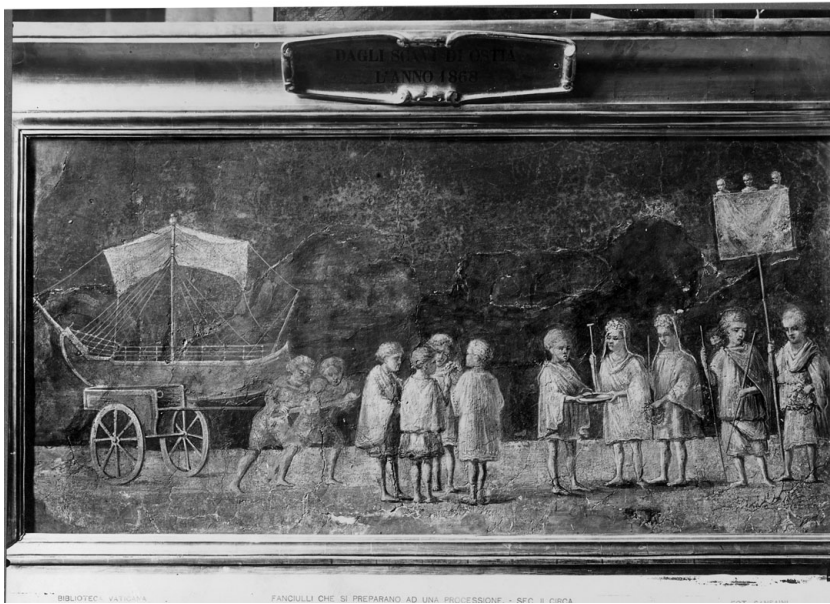
The sacrifice to Castor and Pollux in 359 CE reported by Ammianus was not an isolated instance of civic activity in Late Antique Ostia. According to the Codex-Calendar of 354, Rome and her harbor towns continued to inaugurate the opening of shipping routes for spring with the *navigium Isidis*. A second festival, held in late autumn over multiple days, ceremoniously marked the closing of the sea. A powerful, citywide drumbeat that announced the impending winter, it was also a festival performed in spite of the fact that sailing had always been a year-round enterprise, as has now been shown for both Greek and Roman periods of Mediterranean travel.²⁶ In this regard, the festivals are quite important. Although some scholars once dismissed the evidence from the Codex-Calendar as late Roman antiquarian interest in traditional religions, Michele Salzman has now suggested that both the spring and late autumn celebrations for Isis, as well as the Codex-Calendar of 354 more broadly, testify to traditional religious vitality in Late Antique Rome and are not isolated instances. Two wall paintings, removed from Ostia in 1868 without any further documentation of their provenance, portray an image of this festival, the *navigium Isidis*, as it was celebrated at the time of the Severan dynasty (Figure 52). Children are shown enacting festivals at the harbor, and one includes the symbolic launching of the spring ship. This same festival may have been preserved, in some form, through at least the mid-fourth century.²⁷

Other evidence from Ostia substantiates this interpretation. An inscription found near modern-day Fiumicino confirms that the cult of Isis near the harbors thrived through the end of the fourth century,

²⁵ “ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Ἀλεξανδρίνῳ, παρασήμερον Διοσκούροις,” Acts of the Apostles (Luke–Acts) 28.11. For Paul in Late Antique Rome, see now Eastman 2011.

²⁶ For the festivals, see Salzman 1990, 16–17, 170. For a reappraisal of the shipping season, see now Davis 2009.

²⁷ The paintings are displayed in the Room of the Aldobrandini Wedding, Vatican Museum; see Nogara 1907, 63–79. See also Stern (1981, 440–41), who summarizes the identification of the festivals as follows: Isis (March 5) and the birthday of Septimius Severus (April 9); Diana (August 13) and the *Vinalia*, which he dates to September.



52. The *navigium Isidis*, Severan wall painting removed from Ostia, displayed in the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandine, Vatican Museums. Arch. Fot. Vat. 3.4.8, Musei Vaticani.

if not well after.²⁸ Between 375 and 378 CE, the prefect of the grain, Sempronius Faustus – on the explicit orders of the emperors Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian II – financed the restoration of the Temple and Porticus of Isis at Rome’s harbor. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether the inscription, discovered in 1959, once belonged to a religious structure at Portus, Isola Sacra, or at Ostia, as there were probably several sanctuaries between the two harbors.²⁹ Multiple inscriptions do attest to the presence of the cult and priests of Isis at Ostia, but to date, scholars have been unable to attribute the Late Antique inscription to

²⁸ “ddd. nnn. Valens, Gratianus et Valentinia[nus Auggg.] | aedem ac porticu[m] deae Isidi restitui praeceperunt | curante Sempronio Fausto, v[iro] c[larissimo], praefecto annonae,” *AE* 1961, no. 152. The inscription was unknown to Alföldi (1937, 30–57), who suspected that the Isis cult remained operative only through the beginning of the fourth century. For the date of the inscription, see Chastagnol 1969, 135–36. Pace Cameron (2011, 694–95), the text shows the emperors’ own continued interest in sponsoring temple restoration in the 370s, regardless of Faustus’s professed “commitment to paganism.” For the restoration of the Temple of Saturn in Rome, dated to the late fourth century, see Pensabene 1984, 78–81.

²⁹ For testimony regarding a Temple of Isis at Portus, see *CIL* 14.18–19 [= Thylander B293–94].

any existing temple or structure.³⁰ Perhaps the Serapeum (3.17.4 and Figure 51, no. 2) – located to the south of the via della Foce, on the same route toward the Temple of Castor and Pollux and the inner harbor – housed a cult of Isis because the *Fasti* refer to the Serapeum as a “templum,” an open space, not an “aedes.”³¹ Notwithstanding the limits of the archaeological evidence available at present, the dedication of Sempronius Faustus makes clear that Isis and, most likely, her festivals remained a visible presence at Rome’s seashore throughout, at least, the late fourth century. Given their social connection to shipping, moreover, they may have proved one of the most resilient features of Ostia’s religious landscape.

VULCAN

Last and most important in this group of examples is Ostia’s cult of Vulcan.³² Vulcan was the town’s “*deus patrius*,” and his pontifex was the authority in charge of all other religious buildings in the harbor town. Indeed, because of his central position in Ostia’s social and cultural life – a prestige afforded him due to the preeminence of the cult – his permission was needed to renovate or change other religious structures throughout Ostia. A staff of aediles and praetors, some of whom we know for their service as “first praetor,” worked at the behest of the chief priest.³³ According to Russell Meiggs, these men most likely contributed to planning, organizing, and funding the premier local festival, the *Volcanalia*, held on August 23, when the town honored its patron god with games and celebrations.³⁴ The last attested Ostian to serve as pontifex of Vulcan is recorded in an inscription dated to the period between the last quarter of the third century and the first decade of the fourth century.³⁵

³⁰ “sacerdos Isidis Ostiensis,” *CIL* 14.429, 14.437, and 14^S.4672. The inscriptions date to the first and second century CE; see Squarciapino 1962, 27–30.

³¹ Ostian *Fasti*, 127 CE: “viii K. Febr. templum Sarapi quod [.] Caltilius P[–] | sua pecunia exstruxit dedicatum [es]t.” The central temple at 3.17.4 and its surrounding portico may be the structures (“aedem et porticu[m]”) that Sempronius Faustus restored. There is insufficient data as yet to test this claim; see Mols 2007; Mar 1992; and Bloch 1959.

³² See Chapter 4.

³³ See *CIL* 14.3, 14.47, 14.72, 14.132, 14.306, 14.324–25, 14.352, 14.373.

³⁴ Meiggs 1973, 336–53.

³⁵ De Caro 1968 (Mus. Ost. inv. 6418, dated between 287 and 304 CE); see also Pellegrino 1986, 296.

What can we safely deduce about the visible character of the cult in Late Antiquity?³⁶ The fourth-century writer Ausonius mentions the festival of Vulcan in his poem on Roman feast days.³⁷ This festival, the “*Vulcanalici*” (*Volcanalia*), appears both in the Codex-Calendar of 354³⁸ and the calendar of Polemius Silvius, produced in Gaul in 448–49 CE. The latter also records the celebration of chariot races and circus games on the same day as the religious feast.³⁹ This evidence suggests that Vulcan’s feast remained a day of public celebration at least into the fifth century.

More importantly, it was not a solitary event in an otherwise empty August calendar.⁴⁰ Festivals of *Sol Indiges* (August 9), the *feriae Iovi et Florae* (August 13), the *Portunalia* (August 17), the *Vinalia rustica* (August 19), the *Consualia* (August 21), the *mundi patefactio* (August 24), the *Opisconsivia* (August 25), and the *Volturnalia* (August 27) filled the August religious calendar, prompting an earlier scholar to suggest that Vulcan “[was] the center of a religious cycle around which the feasts of the Roman calendar [in August] took shape.”⁴¹ Whether or not this characterization of the deity himself remains convincing today, it is clear that these August festivals, excluding Vulcan’s, are united around water, the sun, and the bounties of agriculture that each ensured.⁴² Together, these holidays constituted nearly a fortnight of celebrations.

The fourth-century Codex-Calendar preserves traces of this “religious cycle”: August 17 celebrates the *Tiberinalia*.⁴³ August 28 marks the birthday of *Sol et Luna*.⁴⁴ Even the personifications of “August” from the

³⁶ “aedis Vulkani vetustate corrupta | [restituta or] nato opere, dedicata est,” *Ost. Fast.* 112 CE (Bargagli and Grosso 1997, 36–37).

³⁷ “Nunc et Apollineos Tiberina per ostia ludos / et Megalesiacae matris operta loquar / Vulcanique dies, autumnus exordia primi,” Ausonius *Eclog.* 23.1–3.

³⁸ *CIL* 1².332; see also *Inscr. Ital.* 13.500–02.

³⁹ “circenses,” *CIL* 1².349; see also *Inscr. Ital.* 13.263–76.

⁴⁰ Salzman 1990, 130.

⁴¹ Carcopino 1919, 115–18. His larger thesis, suggesting a relationship between an early cult of Vulcan and the god of the Tiber is an interesting topic (*ibid.*, 595–720) but has been found unconvincing; Meiggs (1973, 340) marshals the evidence against it.

⁴² Donati and Stefanetti 2006, 87–113.

⁴³ *CIL* 1².332; see *Inscr. Ital.* 13.237–62, with commentary at 500–02. Whether this name signifies the creation of an entirely new festival (Salzman 1990, 165) or whether Romans have assimilated Tiber to the Portunus (Carcopino 1919, 116) is a matter of debate. Salzman suggests that it is a new celebration and achieved popularity after Diocletian and Maximian made a dedication on Tiber’s behalf (*CIL* 6.773 [= *ILS* 626]).

⁴⁴ *CIL* 1².332; see also *Inscr. Ital.* 13.237–62; and Salzman 1990, 150–51.

Codex-Calendar are particularly illustrative. Described as parched (“*torridus*”), the figure is shown drinking water, surrounded by an amphora and fruit, or melons, with a fan of peacock feathers.⁴⁵ The representation of a jacket, thrown off from the heat, finds particular resonance in a Late Antique verse of unknown authorship, often attributed to the bishop Paulinus of Nola: “Now the whole crowd, trusting in the sun, hangs up their garments for the *Volcanalia*.”⁴⁶ While leaving the viewer to stitch together the precise iconographic or thematic relationships between these cults, the illustrations from the Codex-Calendar nevertheless suggest that this series of August festivals was an important ritual cycle that played a significant social and cultural role not only in fourth-century Rome but in Ostia as well. Here, one might imagine, the local cult of Vulcan and the location of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber combined to produce a particularly festive air in late August.

Archaeology, religion, and Roman time

Regular displays of rituals like the three traditional festivals introduced here, with their monthly or daily pageants, were celebrated throughout the course of Roman history and were continually updated with each new age. As Mary Beard has written, rituals like those formed the core “of what it [meant] to be Roman.” Performed in both large cities and the outlying countryside, civic festivals, such as the spring and fall sailing of the ship at Ostia and the celebration of a patron deity, functioned as important venues for Romans eager to manage their past and its relationship to the present – discarding outdated elements of ritual and belief, on the one hand, and renewing long-established traditions, on the other.⁴⁷

This cultural outlook continued to operate throughout Late Antiquity. A closer look at the two calendars cited earlier, the Codex-Calendar of 354 CE and the calendar of Polemius Silvius, reveals that alongside the presentation of ancient festivals, consular lists, and names of the urban prefects, there were also Christian martyrs’ days, a list of bishops, and the Easter cycle. The martyr Lawrence, for example, the memory of whose

⁴⁵ “fontanos lattices et lucida pocula vitro / cerne, ut demerso torridus bibat” (August II. 29–30); see Salzman 1990, 93–94.

⁴⁶ “nunc omnis credula turba / suspendunt soli per Vulcanalia vestes,” *Carm.* 32.138–39; see also Trout 1999, 271–72.

⁴⁷ Beard 1987, 7–12; see also Wallace-Hadrill 2005.

martyrdom may have been important to Christians at Ostia, is listed in the calendar of Polemius Silvius on August 10. The first of August in that same calendar also commemorates the memory of martyrs who died during the Maccabean period, a period of Jewish history that, as we saw at the beginning of this study, was increasingly appropriated by Late Antique Christians.⁴⁸ In short, both of these calendars, one from fourth-century Rome and the other from fifth-century Gaul, remind us that traditional festivals existed side by side with Christian ones in the late Roman city, and that Jewish time and identity were also increasingly being given new dimensions and meaning within this shared landscape. Like so much contemporary evidence, these calendars illustrate quite vividly how late Roman identity remained in flux as individuals learned to navigate the myriad traditions and practices all around them.⁴⁹

Ostia, too, has preserved an artifact that attests to the enduring rhythms of traditional time in a town brimming with social and cultural change. This artifact, a precious piece of the archaeological record that is not widely known, is one half of a fifth-century ivory diptych (Figure 53). It was discovered by Dante Vaglieri in 1910 during the excavation of an ancient drainage channel underneath the Casone del Sale, now the Ostia museum.⁵⁰ It measures 23.5 centimeters in length by 10.5 centimeters; and an examination of the verso side shows the holes for rivets or pins, necessary for attaching it to the recto, which is missing. In the center of the panel, framed between two spiral columns with Corinthian capitals, supporting a canopy, stands a male figure facing front and gesturing with his right hand.

Although scholars have never conjectured his age, a detail of the figure's face suggests that he may still be an adolescent. He wears the laced boots of an aristocrat. On top of his ankle-length tunic (*tunica talaris*) and decorative tunic with palm-branch design (*tunica palmata*), he is wearing a toga (*toga contabulata*), folded in a *sinus* over his left arm.⁵¹ At the lower level of the panel are the letters "MO | DES,"

⁴⁸ For the month of August in Polemius Silvius, see *Inscr. Ital.* 13.271. For the Maccabees in Late Antiquity, see the discussion of "paganism" in Chapter 1.

⁴⁹ See the discussion of identity in Chapter 1, with bibliography; see also Latham 2007, 321–30; and Salzman 1990, 242–44.

⁵⁰ Mus. Ost. inv. 4362 [= Delbrueck 1929, 256–58, no. 65A, tab. 4]. Vaglieri identified the panel as bone (1910c, 112–14). Cutler, who reexamined the artifact, reclassified it "most certainly" as elephant ivory (1998, 5, fig. 7). I can confirm that it is ivory.

⁵¹ On the details of his dress, see Spier 2003, 351.

0.5 centimeters high, positioned on either side of the figure's tunic. Both Vaglieri and Richard Delbrueck suggested that these letters are a shortened form of the donor's name, Modestus.⁵² The name of the recipient appears in the architrave at the top of the panel, carved in letters 1.2. centimeters high ("CLSEVERO • PATRONO"). One reading would restore this text as "to Gaius Livius Severus" (C. L. Severo), Modestus's patron (*patrono*). Delbrueck wondered whether the figure might have been the emperor Libius Severus (461–65 CE) and the diptych, a New Year's present. Another interpretation proposes that the ivory was meant for "Claudius Severus" (Cl. Severo), thus for someone who may not have been a consul at all.⁵³ I am included to agree with this more cautious supposition, simply because the patron need not be related to the fifth-century imperial family. My own examination of the inscription on the panel, however, does persuade me that Delbrueck's reading is the preferred one. There are two dots in the abbreviated nomenclature ("C • L • Severo").

Who was this Severus? His figure, his gesture, the architectural setting in which he appears, a supporting a decorative canopy, and titular plaque are consistent with representations of men of senatorial or consular rank during this same period.⁵⁴ This context leads me to believe that Severus was a person of consular rank. Molded terracotta plaques and illustrations from the Codex-Calendar of 354 confirm this iconographic representation of a man of senatorial or consular rank, a group that would include those appointed to the office of urban prefect, even younger men of socially prominent families.⁵⁵ Perhaps that is the key to unlocking his identity. Severus holds neither a *mappa* nor a scepter, the two symbols of a presiding consul, and that alone suggests that he may have been a child at the time he received the gift, perhaps a nominee to urban prefect or maybe even to suffect consul.⁵⁶ To be named to that honor was to participate in the rhythms of the fifth-century year; it was celebrated on

⁵² Pace Delbrueck, it was only "con molta esitanza" that Vaglieri suggested reading *m(agistro) o(fficiorum) des(ignato)* (Vaglieri 1910c, 114; see also Delbrueck 1929, 256).

⁵³ Cutler 1998, 15. Vaglieri (1910c, 112) himself had found no evidence that a man named "C. Severus" had ever been consul.

⁵⁴ Spier 2003, 350; see also Salzman 1990, fig. 14.

⁵⁵ Matthews 1975, 18–23; see also van den Hoek 2006, 173.

⁵⁶ See Volbach 1976, 29–30 no. 1, pl. 1, an ivory diptych from the cathedral of Aosta; the honoree's name is also in the dative case (Probus to Honorius).



53. Ostian ivory diptych, Mus. Ost. inv. 4362. Author's photograph.

January 9, according to Polemius Silvius.⁵⁷ In the end, though, I doubt any of these questions of identity can be answered. The function of the object, I would propose, is the more illustrative point to consider.

Delbrueck advanced the idea that the plaque might have been given as a New Year's gift to commemorate the ascendancy of a young, new office holder. I find this interpretation compelling.⁵⁸ The consular procession to the Capitoline Hill, which inaugurated the new year's officials, remained a feature of Rome's cityscape through the sixth century, even as the accompanying sacrifice was gradually replaced with the recitation of a Christian prayer.⁵⁹ Like the lists of consuls and urban prefects that were included in the Codex-Calendar of 354, the ritual New Year's

⁵⁷ January 9: "suffecti consulares designantur sive praetores," *Inscr. Ital.* 13.264.

⁵⁸ Delbrueck 1929, 257.

⁵⁹ Latham 2007, 283–90.

procession bestowed on an officeholder the historic lineage of his predecessors and memorialized his own place in the Roman year. The gift of an ivory diptych would have been particularly fitting on such an occasion. Kim Bowes has now suggested that the parallel inner faces of these diptychs, unfortunately now blank, once contained a commemorative presentation of the larger, two-columned public displays of the *Fasti*, visually placing the current officeholder in the prestigious line of past public servants.⁶⁰ Whether this commemorative text originally appeared inscribed in wax on the inside of the tablet or whether it was painted on the surface directly is unclear.⁶¹ I agree with Bowes's conclusion, however, that, whether in the Codex Calendar of 354 or an ivory diptych, a Late Antique fascination with commemorative lists formed part of a broader cultural dialogue on Roman identity during shifting times, "consular, Christian and universal."⁶² For that reason, I believe that the Ostian ivory functioned in a similar way: as a gift that spoke to the traditional rhythms of the year. As such, it is a tangible piece of evidence for something often hard to detect in archaeological settings: the persistence of traditional Roman time – and the cultural dialogue swirling around its competing definitions. These traditions pervaded Late Antique Ostia and shaped social responses to the town's sacred architecture and sacred space.

Building identities around the clock

"A neighborhood where people . . . live according to another calendar," wrote one contemporary commentator, "can be, for many police officers who serve it, puzzling at best and culturally threatening at worst."⁶³ The neighborhood he was describing was Brooklyn, New York, and the context of his observation was the ways in which police officers who worked its streets had to take account of the rhythms of the neighborhood's Orthodox Jews. Time, it should be apparent from this example, is what gives any urban landscape its pulse. These beats and pauses create a city whose streets and spaces are not always relevant to all people on the same days or weeks of a year. Buildings and spaces may thus be said to function

⁶⁰ Bowes 2001, 342–48.

⁶¹ Cutler (1998, 8), who studied every piece in Delbrueck's corpus of ivory diptychs, could not find any traces of wax. My own inspection of the reverse of the Ostian diptych reveals possible traces of red paint, although these appear near the edges, not in the center of the plaque.

⁶² Bowes 2001, 347.

⁶³ Heilman 2006.

as “nodes” around which people gather on different days throughout the calendar.⁶⁴ It is the element of performance, rooted in the specific rituals and narratives of the urban landscape, that gives any architecture its social significance.

The same holds true in Late Antique Ostia. Roman, Jewish, and Christian religious days all helped to direct the town’s residents to important urban landmarks like temples, churches, and the synagogue.⁶⁵ Stories, based in history or myth or some combination of the two, provided the kinetic energy to fuel daily life in cities and towns throughout the empire. Narrative, in short, gave life to social time. The Ostian Jewish community lived on one such alternative calendar, centered on the rituals of the Jewish faith and custom. Christians lived by another, rooted in the narrative of Jesus’s life and death and, later, in the lives and deaths of martyrs.⁶⁶ How a community managed this performance could even give rise to new buildings as urban time, like urban space, provided one more platform for the expression of a community’s power and memory.⁶⁷ In this way competing voices came to inhabit the Late Antique landscape.

Ostia offers stories of people who gave a rhythm to Christian time. These were the stories of men and women like Cyriacus, Taurinus, Sempronianus, Aurea, and others, all of whom were martyred during the time of Claudius Gothicus (268–70 CE). The memories of their martyrdom must have fostered a distinct sense of community among Ostia’s Late Antique Christians. But when exactly did these memory communities flourish? The hagiographies purport to describe pre-Constantinian events, but none of the extant manuscripts that preserve these stories predates the eighth century. Scholarly consensus today is that these texts are products of a fifth- or sixth-century redaction, which does narrow the gap between the transmission of them and the history they allegedly preserve.⁶⁸ My concern here, however, is not with the historicity of these stories. Cyriacus and Aurea, according to some, might just as well inhabit

⁶⁴ See Lynch 1960, 72–83.

⁶⁵ Consider Elsner, who writes that “a discourse of ritual [is] all too often suppressed in accounts on ancient art” (1996, 522).

⁶⁶ For Christian time, see Brown 1981, 86–105; for Jewish time, see Levine 2000, 193–206, 381–411, 626–30.

⁶⁷ For Jewish communities, see Schwartz 2001, 275–89. For Christian communities, see, for example, Yasin 2009; Trout 1999, 160–97; and Kiely 2004, 443–46.

⁶⁸ On the creation of Christian community at Ostia, see Février 1958, 296–304. On the manuscript traditions of the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *gesta martyrum*, see Pilsworth 2000, 313–17; Cooper 1999; Cooper and Hillner 2007; and Dufourcq 1988.

the same realm of myth that Rome's fratricidal brothers occupy.⁶⁹ In what follows, rather, I have set my sights on the possible use, not historicity, of these narratives of miracles and martyrdom.⁷⁰

I propose that these fifth- or sixth-century stories, which communicated the memory of significant figures to Ostia's Late Antique Christian community, invested the town's churches with a social capital that balanced the prestige of the town's traditional urban sanctuaries. In this way, the martyr texts achieved their power by offering a vision of the past that other members of the community could actively choose to participate in, if they wanted. These communicated memories went beyond the textual resurrection of important figures from Ostia's Christian past. They offered alternate views of imperial history. The divine Claudius II, for example, was revered in multiple texts as a scion of the house of the first Christian emperor, Constantine, in fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-century sources.⁷¹ Perhaps for that reason, the author of the acts of Censurinus, a figure who appears in Aurea's own martyr story, names the persecuting emperor as Trebonius Gallus, not Claudius.⁷² We cannot know whether this change was due to an error in the process of oral or textual transmission, faulty memory, or perhaps willful assertion of an alternate memory tradition. I myself would suggest that something akin to the latter might be at work: an *ex post facto* effort to absolve the scion of the house of Constantine from any possible involvement with the alleged third-century persecutions at Ostia. The suggestion is only tentative.

What is more certain is that these local martyrs' deaths did become a focal point for the memory community that produced and transmitted the texts.⁷³ By helping to promote a different ritual calendar, superimposed

⁶⁹ AASS 4 "August," 757–61. A second hagiographic tradition is preserved in the *Acta Martyrum ad Ostia Tiberina*, first edited in 1795, text and translation also available on the Web; see Bakker 2010. The details I have sketched are common to both sources.

⁷⁰ Following similar methodology employed by Castelli (2004, 26–28).

⁷¹ For example, *Pan. Lat.* 6.2.1–2 (ed., Nixon and Rodgers 1994 with discussion at 219–21, n. 5–7). See also *ILS* 732 ("divi Claudius nepos [Constantinus]") and Anon. Val. ("Constantius, divi Claudii optimi principis nepos ex fratre," 1.2). Bardill (2012) is also now helpful.

⁷² As Paschetto (1912, 178, n. 1) first noticed. For the text, see AASS "September" II, cols. 520–24. For Trebonius Gallus, see specifically col. 520F: "postquam impiissimus imperator Decius, non totis duobis annis principatu Romani apicis administrato, rebus humanis exemptus est, Gallus suscepit imperium, cui regnum cum floreret in initio. . . . erat ea tempestate vir quidam praefectoria potestatis occulte Christianus, nomine Cenurinus."

⁷³ For memory communities, see Alcock 2002, 15.

on Ostia's preexisting one, the protagonists of the stories, as well as the cult sites that became associated with them, emerged as active agents in the transformation of the town. Together, they helped to shift the locus of Ostia's ritual activities from the traditional urban sanctuaries to Christian churches outside the walls. Memories, after all, both old and new, are "inherited, inhabited, invented, and imagined through the landscape" where they are formed.⁷⁴

The power of martyr stories at Ostia

Among the protagonists of these stories, one local female martyr, Aurea, over time took pride of place among the Ostian saints. As we will see, it was around the basilica dedicated in her name that the Medieval Christian community built a new set of walls in the ninth century. The story of Aurea, redacted in the *Acta Sanctorum* in the fifth or sixth century, thus offers an illuminating look at how the life of this significant figure came to be remembered by Ostia's Christian community. However, the text is more than an artifact that provides an illustration of Aurea's biography. Edited during this time, it provides a way to glimpse some of the social and cultural contours of the Late Antique town that might have escaped notice in other historical sources, such as Procopius's narrative of wars on the Italian peninsula. Not only does its narrative show an awareness of the continued power of traditional festival time at Ostia, several of the details of Aurea's story reveal a much more diverse Christian landscape than is usually assumed for the town in the fifth and sixth centuries.⁷⁵

The story of Aurea is, not surprisingly, one filled with dramatic flair. According to the "Life of Aurea," it was during the month of August, under the reign of Claudius Gothicus, that the Ostian bishop, Cyriacus; his presbyters, Maximus, Eusebius and Concord; and their deacon, Archelaus, drew attention from the Roman government for healing the sick, exorcising demons, and giving sight to the blind.⁷⁶ It was at this same time that a young Roman woman named Aurea had sought out the Ostian

⁷⁴ Holtorf and Williams 2006, 237.

⁷⁵ Diversity in Christianity, of course, is not unique to Late Antiquity; see Ehrman 2003.

⁷⁶ "erat autem in civitate Hostea episcopus, nomine Cyriacus, timens Deum, cum sacerdotibus suis Maximo, Eusebio et Concordio presbyteris, et Archelaio diacono: quorum orationibus multa mirabilia Dominus operatus est," *VAur.* 1.5.

bishop to ask for his prayers and blessings.⁷⁷ The sources describe Aurea as a woman of imperial lineage who had already run afoul of the authorities for refusing emperor worship, in addition to having rejected marriage. She had been wandering the town with holy men and women, and it was not long before the entire group fell under suspicion of practicing magic.⁷⁸

Ramsay MacMullen, Peter Brown, and others have already described how positions of authority, when threatened by the social power of minority groups, often use charges of magic or witchcraft to regain their control over the “outsiders.”⁷⁹ The Ostian hagiographies may accord with these broader social and cultural analyses, preserving the traces of a dominant Roman system threatened by an upstart community. Judging the accuracy of specific narrative details, on the other hand, is fraught with difficulty. There is no way to verify the scenes of the martyrs’ torture, their parting ripostes to the torturer-in-chief, Romulus, or the miraculous ways their severed limbs float to shore after they are thrown into the Tiber. These details, historical or generic, serve to embellish the moment – the day and the time – when the martyrs sacrificed themselves to become fellows of God’s saints.⁸⁰

It is the day of their self-offering, “ten days before the Kalends of September,” that demands attention. For that date is August 23, the same date as the town’s festival of Vulcan.⁸¹ The martyrdoms of Ostia’s bishop, Cyriacus, and his companions Maximus, Archelaus, and Herculanus are all recorded on that day. Aurea, too, was killed at that time, and her body washed ashore one week later on August 29. A second source offers a slightly divergent record of events. According to the *Acta Martyrum ad Ostia*, Aurea, instead of washing ashore on August 29, had already been buried five days earlier on August 24.⁸²

⁷⁷ “erat tunc in civitate Hostea quaedam matrone de genere regiae potestatis, nomine Aurea, quae iam multas persecutiones experta inscriptionibus fuerat damnata, et cum viris religiosis et sacris virginibus in praedio suo vacaba,” *VAur.* 1.8.

⁷⁸ “eodem tempore nuntiatum est Claudio, quod in Hostea mortuus suscitatus fuisset per orationem sanctorum, et dixit: hoc non est nisi ars magica,” *VAur.* 2.12.

⁷⁹ MacMullen 1966, 95–127; see also Brown 1972, 119–46.

⁸⁰ “illi autem dicebant: gratias tibi agimus, Domine Iesu Christe, quia meruimus socii fieri sanctorum tuorum,” *VAur.* 2.15.

⁸¹ “sub die decimo Kalendas Septembris,” *VAur.* 2.15; “quarto Kalendas Septembris,” id. 2.16.

⁸² “Beatus vero Nonnus collegit corpus eius et sepelivit in praedio ipsius, ubi habitaverat foras muros portae Hostiae nono Calendis Septembris,” *Acta Martyrum ad Ostia* 2.3. On this text, see Meiggs 1973, 519–21.

Given our incomplete understanding of these oral and textual traditions, to argue over the precise dates for the martyrdom of Aurea, Cyriacus, and others, whether real or fabricated, is to miss the forest for the trees. Both hagiographic sources situate the martyrs' feast days during the town's preeminent festival period, that is, the series of August days leading up to, culminating in, and concluding Ostia's celebration of Vulcan on August 23.⁸³ It is possible, of course, that the Romans, if they did put to death this band of outsiders, used the visibility of the Ostian festivals to publicize the executions, perhaps as a social deterrent. According to the "Life of Aurea," for example, the Ostian martyrs were executed "at an arch near the theater."⁸⁴ Fausto Zevi and Patrizio Pensabene have identified this monument, the Arch of Caracalla, which once stood in front of the theater and in its full form spanned the city's Decumanus Maximus (Map I, no. 14). It was certainly a high-profile location.⁸⁵ Yet despite this apparent correspondence between topography and text, caution suggests that any judgment about the historicity of the executions remain open to debate.

I would propose another, or rather, complementary, reading of the hagiographic evidence, one that relies not on the validity of the events themselves but on the broader cultural milieu that produced the texts.⁸⁶ The overlap of local feast days in late August – traditional and Christian, those centered on Vulcan and those centered on the martyrs – suggests that Christians themselves could purposefully interweave hagiography, ritual, and festival time to shape an alternate civic-religious identity. In short, Ostia's Christian community may have used their own stories and the accompanying rituals to construct a new social identity, distinct from that of the older town (see Figure 51).⁸⁷ Only in the context of their fifth- or sixth-century redactions can we admit that these martyr stories served to paint both the local festivals and the Roman past, more generally, in a negative light. This emerging tradition may be contemporary with the only known artifact attributed to the cult of Aurea from the Late Antique town: an inscribed column,

⁸³ Carcopino (1919, 152–26) first drew attention to the correspondences.

⁸⁴ "eadem hora iussit eos duci ad arcum ante theatrum, et ibi eos capitale fecit subire sententiam," *VAur.* 2.15.

⁸⁵ Zevi and Pensabene 1971, 493–96; see now also Boin 2010b.

⁸⁶ Following the method of Llewellyn 1976.

⁸⁷ For one of the first studies of Christian topography at Ostia, see Février 1958, 295; see also Calza-de Chirico 1964–65.

reused in the later building, which seems to record the name, “S[ancta] Aur[ea].”⁸⁸

In effect, the territory *outside* the walls of the old city was undergoing a gradual architectural transformation during the fifth and sixth centuries, a phenomenon witnessed at Portus and elsewhere throughout the Western Empire during this time.⁸⁹ At Ostia, this level of suburban development far outstripped any comparable activity within the old town walls during the same period.⁹⁰ Thus, although it is true that extramural Christian churches, in competition with intramural Roman temples, did become the new architectural nodes around which social life was developing, it is also true that no single moment of “Christian triumph” ever heralded the rise of these alternative social and civic landmarks in the public consciousness. The extramural Christian churches rose to prominence only gradually over time against the traditional centers of power, the city’s temples, Mithraea, and shrines. The production of martyr stories played an active role in giving expression to this new reality. Only in the fifth or sixth century did a new, specifically Christian topography emerge – one focused, in part, on a reverence for holy men and women who had been buried outside the walls of Ostia. The Christian calendar gave it a powerful daily currency.

The power of Aurea at Ostia

Not all holy men and women were equal, however. In the following centuries – specifically, at some point prior to the ninth century – it was the female figure of Aurea who had earned a status outranking Ostia’s other saints. It was the basilica in her name, not any of the other three, that became the center point of a new city named after Pope Gregory IV (827–44 CE) and located outside the old town walls.⁹¹ With its new

⁸⁸ For an image, see Brenk 2001, 270, fig. 13.

⁸⁹ One observes this trend at Portus with the rise of intramural burials between the fourth century and sixth century (Borrello et al. 2002, 293–94). In Rome, see Costambeys 2001. For the development of extramural land in towns throughout Spain, see Bowes 2005, 193–95; see also Cantino Wataghin 1995 and Christie 2006, 401–07.

⁹⁰ Coccia and Paroli 1990a, 177–81; see also Pannuzi 2008; *SdO* 12.25–32; Paroli 1993, 164; and Heinzelmänn 1998.

⁹¹ “cui etiam a noviter civitati constructae hoc nomen in sempiternum statuit ermanendum scilicet ut ab hominibus, sive Romanis sive aliis nationibus, a proprio quod ei erat nomine, id est Gregorio, Gregoriopoli vocitetur; et revera nec inmerito, hoc a conditoris sui nomine vocabulum sumpsit,” *LP* 2.8121–26.

defensive perimeter, raised to protect Ostia's residents from Aghlabid Muslims based in North Africa (often called the "Saracens" in modern accounts), Gregoriopolis, as the city was named, became the center of a medieval settlement that watched the old town fall into disrepair, "a site which [at the start of the twelfth century was] called the place of the limekilns (*calcaria*)."⁹² Certainly such an external, military threat – perceived or real – represents one force that contributed to the transformation of Ostia from a sprawling ancient town into a closely knit medieval one. That general picture is confirmed by the establishment of small, fortified settlements throughout the peninsula beginning in the fifth century and continuing through the ninth.⁹³

Several questions linger, however. Why did this community settle around Aurea's church and not the basilica at Pianabella or the church now dedicated to Sant'Ercolano? Why did it not remain centered on the urban bishop's church? What compelled the town to abandon its other churches in favor of the one known to have been dedicated to Ostia's female saint and not to any other? Ostia's religious landscape gave birth to several other martyr stories during this time, commemorating the deaths of men and women like Asterius, Gaius, Eugenius, Flora, and Lucilla.⁹⁴ But Aurea's hagiography is the longest text to have emerged. Is the attention devoted to her historically significant? If so, how?

These questions are not easy to answer. I suggest that by following methods of redaction criticism developed in studies of the gospels and now applied to the Late Antique *gesta martyrum*, that a close reading of the text within its fifth- or sixth-century context might tease out social-historical details that pertain to the time of its redaction. The narrative presentation of Aurea's martyrdom, as it was eventually recorded and written down, may have contained elements that helped to argue for shifting the center of Christian power at Ostia to her basilica. Several scholars have already applied this approach in similar contexts. As Kate

⁹² "extra portam eiusdam civitatis [Gregoriopoli] non longe ad eadem Hostiensi civitate, sita in loco qui vocatur calcaria," a papal bull of 1191 (Celestinus III). Quoted by Lenzi (1998, 254) and supplying the title of his article, it is the oldest reference to the limekilns at Ostia. For more on the Aghlabids, see the Postscript.

⁹³ Christie 2006, 263–67.

⁹⁴ For Asterius, see *AASS* January II, 218; Gaius, see February III, 64; Gallicanus and Hillarius, see February III, 68, and June V, 38–39; Bonosa, see July IV, 21–23; Eugenius, Flora, and Lucilla, see July VII, 30; Hippolytus, see August IV, 505–06; Asterius, see October IX, 11; Censurinus, see September II, 521–24.

Cooper has pointed out, “Texts which bear on the agency of women as proponents of religious change . . . have [often] been read without sensitivity to their concealed rhetorical strategies.”⁹⁵ These “rhetorical strategies,” as she has analyzed them, often rely on images of female power to subvert, challenge, or support one expression of male authority over and against that of an opposing group. I suggest that elements of Aurea’s textual life may reveal some of these same tensions within the Late Antique Christian community at Ostia. This community may not have been as homogeneous as previously suspected, and the power of Aurea’s text may have promoted the increasing importance of not only her church but also its clergy over time.

The text emphasizes three aspects of Aurea’s character: her noble birth, her commitment to chastity, and her willingness to embrace aspects of an ascetic lifestyle.⁹⁶ These are standard characteristics of female martyr narratives. Seen together, these traits portray Aurea as a powerful new model of social authority, a threat to the traditional, hereditary elite. Anne Yarbrough, for example, has characterized a late Roman woman’s role, in part, as ensuring the proper inheritance of family wealth through the birth of legitimate heirs.⁹⁷ As a noble young woman, the daughter of an imperial family, Aurea herself was most likely expected to fulfill this role. Yet the text tells us she preferred chastity to marriage. In the eyes of the interrogating magistrate at Rome, who initiated an investigation against her on charges of magic, Aurea has entirely forsaken her social duty. In one scene he even implores her to find a husband so that she can be happy about her life.⁹⁸ This emphasis on chastity, abnegation of marriage, or widowhood is a common feature of female martyr narratives.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Cooper 1992, 150–55, with the quotation at 150; see also Cooper 1996, 55–61; see also Cooper and Hillner 2007.

⁹⁶ On noble birth, for example, see Prisca (“erat autem genere nobilis, pater eius ter consul, dives nimis,” *AASS* January II, 547–52); Rufina and Secunda (“duae sorores virgines errant cives Romanae, patrae clarissimo genitae Asterio, matrae clarissima Aurelia,” July III, 27–29); and Agatha (“non solum ingenua sed ex spectabili genere ut omnis parentela mea testatur,” February I, 599–662).

⁹⁷ Yarbrough 1976, 154.

⁹⁸ In the words of her interrogator, “et accipe virum et laetare in vita tua,” *VAur.* 1.3.

⁹⁹ See the case of Rufina and Secunda, whose husbands, followers of traditional Roman religion, turn their wives over to the authorities to compel them to sacrifice. Instead of returning to their husbands, the women prefer martyrdom (“praedicantes triumphum Domini,” sections 1–2, 7, July III, 27–29). The martyr Sabina is already a widow at the time of her death (“uxor . . . Valentini illustrissimae memoriae,” section 3.13, August VI, 496–504).

Aurea herself remains committed to her role as one of Christ's "servants," a position of ministry she embraces at Ostia.¹⁰⁰ There, Aurea befriended and supported the local bishop, Cyriacus; and from her wealth she provided food and clothes for those who had recently undergone baptism.¹⁰¹ Much later, after her execution, the eagerness with which Aurea had dispensed both this money and her belongings convinces the local magistrate he ought to seize her assets.¹⁰² This traditional, Roman male concern for the alleged misuse of family wealth most likely provides a context for several interrogators' pleas that Aurea pay more attention to her noble birth and to the responsibilities it enjoins, like preserving her family's inheritance.¹⁰³ In the end, it is Aurea and her companions, however, who willingly embrace their new identities as martyrs and become true "soldiers of Christ," undermining the authority of the magistrates and establishing a model of social opposition against traditionally organized expressions of power.¹⁰⁴ This section, too, contains an element shared with female martyr narratives more broadly: the negative light in which the Roman magistrate is portrayed.¹⁰⁵

Aurea's nobility of birth, her refusal to marry, and the dispersal of her wealth – if these are, indeed, the "rhetorical" elements of the hagiographic narrative and are consistent with traits that are described in other female martyr stories – raise questions about the rhetoric that lay behind the text. What might its "strategy" have been, desiring to frame Aurea's life in this way?¹⁰⁶ If the text is an agent in the social transformation of the town, which I believe it is, what social and cultural dynamic might be working beneath its surface? The answers might only be tentative today, but they deserve exploration.

¹⁰⁰ More than one wealthy Roman woman opted to become Christ's servant; see Sabina ("ipsius sum ancilla," August VI, 496–504); and Lucilla and Flora ("illae ancillae Christi," July VII, 24–45).

¹⁰¹ "et suscepit eos beata Aurea, et vestibus et alimoniis ornavit," *VAur.* 1.9.

¹⁰² "Romulus dixit: Succurre tibi, et occultos thesauros principum redde, et sacrificia diis, et recede ab insania falsa," *VAur.* 2.17.

¹⁰³ "insaniam artis magicae, quae in te floret, ut perderes regiam maiestatem suam, et natales claros obscurares, depone," *VAur.* 2.12.

¹⁰⁴ "tunc iratus Romulus dixit: isti quidem digni sunt morte: et iussit sibi milites Christi praesentari, qui per beatum Cyriacum et Maximum et Archelaum, et beatam Auream crediderunt, *VAur.* 2.10; see also id. 2.14.

¹⁰⁵ See the treatment of procurator Hilarianus in *Passio Sanctarum Perpetua et Felicitis* 2.2; see also Silvanus and Falconius, on whose advice the city prefect, Quintianus, continued to persecute Agatha ("quorum consilio [Quintianus] perpetrabat scelera," *AASS* February I, 599–622, at §3.12).

¹⁰⁶ See Cooper 1996, 46–67.

One hypothesis would suggest that the narrative shows more concern for portraying aristocratic men in a negative light than it does with glorifying the female figure herself at the heart of the story.¹⁰⁷ By drawing attention to and undermining the status of male rulers who maintained their ties to traditional culture, like Claudius or Ulpinus Romulus, the two magistrates who persecute Aurea, the text may be using the example of *female* virtue to propose an alternate expression of *male* leadership.¹⁰⁸ This vision of ideal male leadership may have been based not on the status acquired through traditional male roles, such as holding political office or a collegial priesthood, but rather on the practice of other qualities, such as ascetic behavior and celibacy.¹⁰⁹ Stories of chaste Christian women, for example, were often employed by celibate men, especially those eager to present themselves as “trustworthy” and “capable” leaders over and against their married counterparts, frequently in competition for similar positions of power.¹¹⁰ The “rhetorical strategy” of the text may thus be exposing a division between those Christians at Ostia who remained comfortable with their social identities as traditional Romans and those who sought to construct – both for themselves and for Western Christianity at large – not only a new identity but a new locus of power distinct from the classical past.¹¹¹ In this way, the story of Aurea’s martyrdom may have been crafted to speak to the age that redacted it. Because “those who wished to distance Christians from their identity as Romans were not always in the majority,” as Cooper has noted, the construction of a text like the “Life of Aurea” may have proved an effective weapon in this debate.¹¹² In this case, the repeated manner in which the text emphasizes Aurea’s position as a “soldier of Christ” may evoke an explicit contrast with precisely those who did not militantly take up the Christian cause in the fifth or sixth century.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ The martyr Sabina treats her persecutor, Helpidus, with similar scorn (“Utinam Deum adoraretis . . . et non stulta aut insensata simulacrum daemonium adoraretis,” August VI, 496–504, at §3.3).

¹⁰⁸ For Claudius and Ulpinus Romulus as prosecutors, see *VAur.* 1.3 and 2.12.

¹⁰⁹ Cooper 1996, 73–81, 83–87; generally, see also Brown 1988, 140–59; and Markus 1990, 181–97.

¹¹⁰ Cooper 1992, 162–63; see also Cooper 1996.

¹¹¹ See Gauthier 1999.

¹¹² Cooper 1992, 162; see also Cooper 1996, 88–91.

¹¹³ Several martyrs answered this call to become “soldiers of Christ”; see the martyrdom of Basil and his companions under the emperor Diocletian (“fortissimi milites Christi . . . [1.7]; milites Christi . . . [1.8],” June III, 8–13). The image was a standard

This way of reading the text is compelling because it begins to dovetail with the archaeological and textual evidence we have already considered. If the urban bishop's church, for example, did at some point come to symbolize an accommodating model of Christianity's relationship with Roman culture at large – centered on the wealthy Roman martyr Lawrence and the wealthy Ostian patron who identified with him – then Aurea's narrative life and the extramural church dedicated in her name proved a powerful tool with which to break that connection to the complicated past and to forge a distinctly separate Christian identity outside the boundaries of the old town. In this scenario, the creation of an alternate foundation story for the urban basilica – attributed to Constantine's imperial patronage in the pontifical hagiography the *Liber Pontificalis*, redacted during the same time as Aurea's text – suggests that Ostia's Christian communities were engaged in a debate about the role of Christian power and authority. As Kim Bowes has now shown, the importance of wealthy patrons for the emergence of Christian architecture, a subject first studied by Michael White, did not end with the conversion of Constantine in the fourth century. Roman elites continued to assert their own understanding of Christian piety, especially as it was practiced at home or in spaces like Rome's *tituli*, which they themselves had donated.¹¹⁴ This social dynamic provides an important historical balance to the theologically unifying pronouncements of ecclesiastical authorities, especially those who advocated for a more uniform set of ritual practices and beliefs during the fourth through sixth centuries.

A theological quest for unity, then, is best understood within the framework of continued elite competition for power and patronage. On the one hand were wealthy Christian patrons, allied with distinct groups of ecclesiastical authorities. On the other hand were wealthy bishops with

one since the time of Cyprian (“in coelestibus castris, miles Christi ob gloriam coronetur,” *Ep.* 8 [*ad martyres et confessors*], *PL* 4, col. 250A; “miles Christi praeceptis eius et monitis eruditus non expavescit ad pugnam sed paratus est ad coronam,” *id. Ep.* 66 [*PL* 4, col. 358A]). Augustine, among several Late Antique writers, reprises it, for example, celebrating the martyrdom of Vincent (“tantum miles Christi intelligat pugnam et sciat quem vincat,” *Serm.* 4.33.36). O'Donnell (1977, 163) discusses the civilian, as opposed to military, connotations inherent in the term “paganus”; see also Boin 2013.

¹¹⁴ Bowes 2008, 65–103; see also Sessa 2007. White (1997a) is the foundational study for the earlier period.

their own powerful backers.¹¹⁵ At stake in the debate between household and episcopal authority was the power to shape the spiritual life of individual churches and the communities who worshipped there. Seen in this light, the memories of Aurea's martyrdom can be seen as having arisen in response to the social authority of the patron or patrons who funded the construction of the intramural church. These patrons no doubt maintained a voice in the life of the community, and it may have been one in conflict with other ecclesiastical figures.

This model of sectarian division sheds light on the rhetorical stance of the text. Stressing Aurea's sexual renunciation, lionizing her ascetic behavior, and advocating the rejection of traditional Roman social roles, the text advocates for the normalization, or institutionalization, of many practices gaining ground in the fifth-century church hierarchy.¹¹⁶ The unfolding of this sectarian dynamic may have been a strong factor in precipitating the move of the bishop's church to the territory outside the walls.¹¹⁷ Thus, if Ostia's urban transformation did take place according to the model I have proposed, it most likely occurred during the fifth and sixth centuries, the time of the likely redactions of the *Liber Pontificalis* and the *Acta Sanctorum*. Stories, legacies, and people, after all, lend a rich social capital to any city's buildings – even if, more often than not, these figures do so without ever explicitly lending their approval.

Landscape, memories, and power

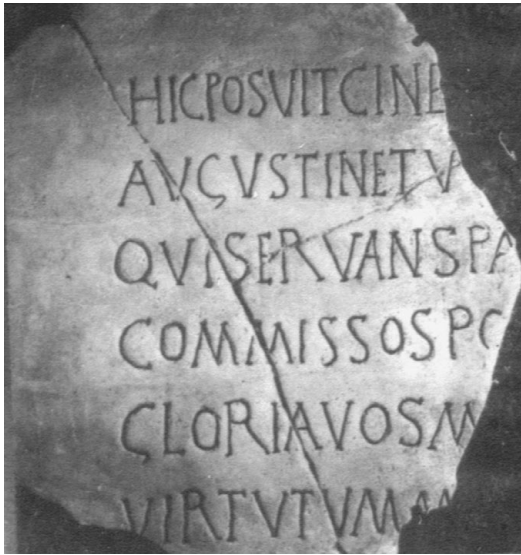
In 1945 a memorial was discovered for Monica, mother of Augustine. It is currently affixed to the wall of a chapel in Sant'Aurea. Traditionally thought to have dated to the period after her death at Ostia in 387 CE, the inscription, the complete text of which is also known from a seventh-century manuscript, has now been dated to that later time (Figure 54), on the basis of archaeological, paleographic, and philological grounds.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ For an introduction, see Cooper and Hillner 2007; see also Hillner 2007 and now McLynn 2012.

¹¹⁶ The institutionalization of asceticism in the fifth century is seen in other martyr texts redacted during the time, such as the *Life of Thecla*; see Castelli 2004, 146–56, with bibliography.

¹¹⁷ For other studies focusing on the heterodoxy of individual Christian urban and suburban landscapes, see Maier 2005, 214–22. The example of Ravenna is well studied; see also Wharton 1995, 130–47; and Deliyannis 2010, 88–100 and 174–88.

¹¹⁸ The following discussion recapitulates Boin 2010b, 202–07.



54. Monica's epitaph, modern cast, Archivio Fotografico, Ostia Neg. R 2264.

The late sixth or early seventh century is thus when both Monica's memory and another funerary memorial, located near the theater, were erected as part of a concerted campaign to honor important figures from Ostia's Christian past. At the theater specifically, the remains of a fountain house and small roadside chapel were found, 2 meters above the street (Map 1, no. 14). There, among the several sarcophagi located in the sixth- or seventh-century context was a plaque whose epigraph reads, "Here Quiriacus [Cyriacus] rests in peace," naming the bishop of the same name who figures in the martyrdom of Aurea.¹¹⁹

The text of Monica's epitaph provides an even more important window onto life in the early seventh-century town. It reads:¹²⁰

hic posuit cineres genetrix castissima prolis
 Augustine tui(s) altera lux meriti(s),
 qui servans pacis caelestia iura sacerdos
 commissos populos moribus instituis.
 gloria vos maior gestorum laude coronat
 virtutum mater felicior subole.

Here the most virtuous mother of a young man set her ashes, a second light to your merits, Augustine. As a priest, serving the heavenly laws of peace, you taught [*or*, you teach] the people entrusted to you with your character.

¹¹⁹ "hic | Quiriacus | dormit in pace," *CIL* 14.5232 [= *ILCV* 3217].

¹²⁰ *Anthologia Latina, sive poesis latinae supplementum*, 140 (c. 670 CE). For the reading of "subole" (l. 6), see the discussion at Wischmeyer 1975, 34, n. 12.

A glory greater than the praise of your accomplishments crowns you both –
Mother of the Virtues, more fortunate because of her offspring.

As I have now shown, one of the keys to understanding the seventh-century context of this memorial is the reference to the Mother of the Virtues (*virtutum mater*) in line six. A circumlocution for the personified figure of Love (*charitas*), this “Mother of the Virtues” has been made more fortunate, or “abundant,” because of Love’s offspring, Monica and her son. This phrasing achieved popularity in the sermons of the Roman bishop Pelagius II (579–90 CE) and in the letters and scriptural commentaries of Gregory I (590–604 CE).¹²¹ Although neither of these men need necessarily to have been involved in the erection of the memorials at Ostia, the fact that this language is first attested in their writings is one piece of evidence that supports the dating of the epitaphs to that time. It is also clear that the legacy of Augustine himself was on the rise, as seen in the frequency of texts from this period that cite his works. This period also witnesses the first figural representation of him in Rome.¹²²

Placed in a larger context, the inscription for Monica and the memorial for Cyriacus thus mark an important tipping point in the transformation of Late Antique Ostia. Images and artifacts and the memories they project have power. Seen alongside the development of a memory tradition focused on the figures of Aurea and Cyriacus, and located within a city whose rhythms had begun to shift toward Christian sites, the placement of these signs suggests the emergence for the first time of a new locus of authority: one that was able to interweave textual and material culture in the service of promoting a unified vision of a Christian Late Antique society. The epitaphs themselves may have been directed at pilgrims and other visitors to Rome’s old harbor, advertising and selling the relevance of a diminishing urban presence.¹²³ The similarity of script on the two epitaphs, for example, is a strong indication of an organized campaign.¹²⁴ These monuments and the texts they engaged with – such

¹²¹ See Boin 2010b, 206, n. 40–41. On Pelagius and Gregory, see now Sessa 2012.

¹²² The reception of Augustine varied by region; see, for example, Mathisen 1993 on a mixed reception in Gaul. For his welcome reception in Rome during the sixth century, see Markus 1997, 34–41. For the figure at San Giovanni in Laterano, which has been identified as Augustine, see Bisconti 2004.

¹²³ See Wharton 2006; see also the insights by Noy 2005; Elsner 2005; and Nelson 2003.

¹²⁴ I would not necessarily ascribe the Ostian epitaphs to Gregory although his interest in martyrs and relics at Rome makes him an attractive candidate; see Trout 2005c,

as the “Life of Aurea” or the works of Augustine – shaped the Christian individuals and communities who revered them. Damasus had promoted a communal culture of the saints by erecting verse epigraphs in late fourth-century Rome.¹²⁵ At Ostia, these monuments promoted a similar narrative that bound the Christian past to the Christian present by rewriting the memories associated with the city. The Arch of Caracalla, which was located just outside the theater and spanned the Decumanus Maximus in front of it, was, in effect, no longer a civic monument that spoke to the world of imperial benefaction and triumph. It became the remembered site of a Christian triumph associated with Ostia’s most revered martyrs, as the martyr story of Aurea attests (*ad arcum ante theatrum*).¹²⁶ The authority behind these urban acts of beneficence did nothing less than redefine the city’s traditional civic spaces.

Given that the figure of Cyriacus is included within Aurea’s own martyr story and that Monica’s epitaph itself was found in the vicinity of the church of Sant’Aurea, it also seems clear that power and authority over the seventh-century landscape resided with the community who revered Aurea in her basilica outside the walls. Perhaps not coincidentally, this period provides the first textual attestation of a church at Ostia dedicated to her name. This reference comes from the *Book of the (Roman) Pontiffs*, and the detail, I suggest, is not an insignificant one.¹²⁷ For it is clear that the bond between Ostia and Rome that had existed for centuries was still being asserted in the sixth and seventh centuries, marked out now with the visible signs of Christian time. The erection of a memorial to Cyriacus along the town’s Decumanus Maximus helped to reassert the connection in a time of political and economic instability. It was figures like Aurea, Cyriacus, Monica, and Augustine who were the links in that new chain.

The need to reassert the connection between the Tiber’s old harbor town and the inland capital city is entirely understandable during this age. The period saw some of the most radical intrusions into urban life

139–40; Krautheimer 2000, 59–87; Pietri 1991; McCready 1989; and Straw 1988, 66–89.

¹²⁵ Broadly, see Castelli 2004, 10–32, 134–71. Specifically, see Trout 2005a and Trout 2005b.

¹²⁶ *VAur.* 2.5.

¹²⁷ According to the life of Pope Sergius I (687–711 CE) in the *Liber Pontificalis*, the building needed repair at that time: “hic basilicam sanctae Aureae in Hostis, quae similiter fuerat disiecta vel disrupta, cooperuit suoque studio renovavit,” *LP* 1.376.

in Late Antiquity, as wars ravaged the Italian peninsula between 534 and 552 CE.¹²⁸ These conflicts no doubt helped to exacerbate many downward trends in quality of life and standard of living that are observable elsewhere in the fifth century, such as a decline in local pottery production, population figures, and the scale – although not necessarily the geographic reach – of Mediterranean exchange.¹²⁹ Amphorae from Ostia, datable to between circa 350 and 475 CE, attest that, even in the mid to late fifth century, almost 55 percent of the town's imported wine arrived in vessels manufactured in the eastern Mediterranean: in Palestine, Asia Minor, and the Aegean.¹³⁰ By the middle of the sixth century and the end of the seventh, however, from what we can deduce from data in Rome, ceramic imports had dropped considerably. By this time, tableware and kitchenware, once largely supplied by North African kilns, had gradually been replaced with ceramics of local manufacture.¹³¹

At Ostia, the lack of any new monumental building in the Forum and the commencement of intramural burials in the sixth century at the area known as the Quattro Tempietti also suggest a far different picture of “city life” than anything the town had witnessed in its storied past (see [Figure 51](#), no. 9).¹³² Textual sources mention that part of the via Ostiensis had fallen out of use, although there is little material evidence as yet to verify or contradict these claims.¹³³ That picture of gloom does not mean that all traces of life vanished. According to the analysis of its extant masonry, the House of the Fortuna Annonaria (5.2.8) was likely repaired during the sixth century; to date, it represents the last known instance of a repair to a domestic structure within the old city.¹³⁴ Neither repointed mortar nor recycled bricks and tufa blocks, however, should lead us to believe the city was entirely empty. During the wars between the Goths and the Romans, soldiers, most likely camped in the landscape or perhaps within the town, are known to have convened at Ostia and drawn posts across the peninsula; Paul, Conon, and their commander,

¹²⁸ See Ward-Perkins 1997; see also Herrin 2007, 61–69.

¹²⁹ In general, see Ward-Perkins 2005, 87–121; see also now Wickham 2005, 644–56.

¹³⁰ Martin 2008, 110 (ceramics: Palestinian Carthage LRA 5–6, Kapitän I and II and Carthage LRA 3).

¹³¹ Wickham 2005, 735–36.

¹³² Paroli 1993, 160–63. See also Rieger 2004, 53. For the economy of the city, see [Chapter 2](#).

¹³³ Proc. BG 5.26.8–19. For the condition of the roads, see Manodori et al. 2000.

¹³⁴ Discussed in [Chapter 2](#).

John, all converged at Ostia,¹³⁵ and many supplies went from here over land by wagon. General Belisarius himself also soon arrived, accompanied by one hundred horsemen.¹³⁶ All the while, the basilica of Sant’Aurea, placed on the southern side of the Decumanus Maximus, outside the old gate of the city, may have lent both the road and the basilica a greater topographical prominence for soldiers and supplies as they came and went. Whatever the state of this urban and suburban street network in the seventh century, it is clear, too, that within decades a new threat had arrived: Lombards, led by their king, Alboin, descended from the Alps into the cities and territory of north-central Italy. Decades more of conflict with the local populations across the peninsula followed.¹³⁷ In these circumstances, the burial sites of Ostia’s saints, whose lives had been distinguished by their personal traits or “merits” (*merita*), may have begun to provide additional comfort to those who visited their urban and suburban shrines.¹³⁸

Seen within the wider lens of the fourth through sixth centuries, then, the process by which Christianity came to mark out its visible identity on the landscape was a slow one. Local hagiographic traditions about Ostia’s martyrs, whether rooted in fact or memory, as well as stories popularized about famous Christians who had once visited the city, formed the basis for these new Christian memories. Textual and material culture alike worked together in the service of this memory operation. It was a process by which new memories were gradually inscribed in the Ostian landscape. Over time, the power of these memories – activated by the performance of Christian rituals – succeeded in transforming the urban image of the town.

The city of Ostia emerged at the end of this long process as a monument in and of ruins, but it was also a monument to ruin, an act of abandonment, conscious or practical, that commemorated a Christian victory over the past. This triumph of Christian memory within the Ostian landscape can thus be said to have occurred only during the sixth or early seventh century, two hundred years after Christianity gained legitimacy

¹³⁵ “Τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ Παῦλόν τε καὶ Κόνωνα πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευον καὶ σφίσιν ἐς Ὀστίαν συμμῆξαι τὸ Ρωμαίων ἐπίνειον,” Proc. BG 6.5.3.

¹³⁶ Proc. BG 6.7.1–3.

¹³⁷ See Gasparri 2006; see also Zanini 1998, 33–82; Christie 1995; and Priestler 2004, 34–50.

¹³⁸ See Brown 1977, 15–17.

in the eyes of the Roman Empire. The archaeological evidence, seen in the *longue durée*, has helped sketch the outline of this process, but that process itself only becomes clear when we consider that the buildings, monuments, commemorative plaques, pathways, and city streets were all actors performing on history's stage.

One final piece of evidence confirms the idea that the landscape itself played a role in shaping the lives of the people who lived within it. The evidence is a graffito from the center of town. Its findspot suggests that the memory of traditional spaces and the traditional rituals once associated with them may have proved an intractable part of the town, even as Christianity did begin to assert itself more identifiably. Carved lengthwise on a dark gray marble column shaft, a fact that implies the column was lying on the ground at the time, the graffito was discovered near the fountain complex at the southeastern end of the via della Foce (1.14.1). The letters measure 5 to 8 centimeters high. The entire sentence extends 1.27 meters, and it records the miracle of a mute regaining the faculty of speech: "Read and understand that a mute speaks [*sic*] near the market."¹³⁹ At the time of the column's discovery in December 1942, Guido Calza deduced that the reference to the *macellum* (4.5.2) implied that it had originally been erected at that site. Within the year excavators restored it on the podium at the western end of Ostia's market (Figure 55), turning the graffito away from the central courtyard and out of casual view to support their reconstruction of classical Ostia.¹⁴⁰ It is important to put it back on the ground.

Ostia's *macellum* lived a long life. According to one inscription, sometime between 428 and 430 CE, the prefect of the city, Aurelius Anicius Symmachus, financed its restoration.¹⁴¹ The direction of the text on the column, however, demonstrates that its author tagged the building fragment as it lay on the ground, the city partially in ruin. It is this direct address from the ruin to passersby that is an intriguing part of the Late Antique cityscape, for the graffito testifies to an urban environment that was growing increasingly comfortable with hearing and

¹³⁹ "lege et intellege mutu loqui ad macellu (sic)," Meiggs 1973, 399.

¹⁴⁰ The site became a *macellum* only in its later phases; see Kockel and Ortisi 2000.

¹⁴¹ "Aurel[ius An]icius S[ymmachus v(ir) c(larissimus)] | praef(ectus) u[rbi, vice s(acra) i(udicans) m]acell[um a se noviter r]eparatu[m ad ornatum] | urbis et i[n usum civium d]ecor[avit omni cultu] adiecti[s ponderibus]," *CIL* 14^S.4719. See Chapter 2 for the proposal that Ostia had a second *macellum*, at 1.12.2.



55. The Late Antique macellum showing the restored location of the inscribed column. Present state. Author's photograph.

perhaps even experiencing personal contact with divine forces. In fact, because the author left no explicitly Christian signs or symbols, the “miracle,” recorded here for posterity, need not necessarily be attributed to Christian agency at all. It is more interesting to consider the site of its discovery: the intersection of the Decumanus Maximus and the via della Foce, the road that led directly to the old harbor and the Temple of Castor and Pollux.

If it was indeed located here in Late Antiquity – placed along a well-worn route to traditional shrines, with parts of the urban fabric beginning to crumble – it is one more piece of testimony to the fact that Ostia's religious landscape changed gradually – not because of any seismic cultural shift. The people who passed it by, where they were going, and what their personal beliefs were – none of that can be known in any specificity,

notwithstanding ancient and contemporary accounts that try to assign them easy labels. Indeed, the column itself is a helpful reminder that the appearance of Christian monuments in any urban landscape marked the beginning, not the end, of what must have been a period of dynamic social and cultural interaction, one whose contours were much more complex than our textual sources have made them out to be.

Postscript

Looking down the road: Toward the Middle Ages

In the end, the fact that none of Ostia's temples was ever converted into a church says much about the social and religious milieu of the town throughout the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. Other cities witnessed far different fates. The rechristening of the Temple of Aphrodite in Aphrodisias, Turkey, and the renaming of the town itself, Stauropolis, "city of the cross," evince a particular concern in that town for what one scholar has characterized as transformation "by rapid and aggressive means."¹ Emperor Constantine may have aimed for a similar effect in his fourth-century building program in Jerusalem. Deliberately leaving the Temple Mount (the modern Haram al-Sharif) bereft of the Jewish Temple, he erected the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in its shadow. This act of patronage and planning announced the triumph of Christianity from and over its Jewish roots and bestowed upon the Temple Mount the power of an "absent presence." The space was turned into *spolia*, and Judaism was rhetorically "erased" from the landscape, all with the construction of a church and a new urban plan.² Centuries later, the Umayyad rulers of Islam's first caliphate adopted a similar visual strategy contingent on the power of image, architecture, and place, erecting the Al Aqsa Mosque on the southern platform of the Noble Sanctuary, along with a central memorial known as the Dome of the Rock (Figure 56).³

¹ Quoting Trombley 1993, 1.186, with regard to temple conversions and the visible use of Christian symbols on old monuments. On the broader subject, see id., 1.98–186. Also see Hahn, Emmel, and Gotter 2008; Bayliss 2004 (Cilicia, generally); Roueché and Reynolds 1989 (Aphrodisias); Saradi-Mendelovici 1990; and also now the collection by Lavan and Mulryan 2011, with earlier bibliography.

² Wharton 1995, 85–100; Wharton 2000, 198–200.

³ Grabar 1987, 46–64.

Ostia's urban transformation, in comparison, was far less dramatic and far more protracted. Just as the Parthenon in Athens was transformed at some undefined point before the seventh century from temple to church, there is very little evidence for a dramatic moment of change at Rome's old harbor town.⁴ Much of what we would like to know has, no doubt, been lost. Indeed, it may still come to light with new excavation and a careful eye on archival material. For a glimpse of what we might have missed so far, we need only turn to Rome. There, recent excavations in the Imperial Forum have revealed one aspect of the old capital's transformation that rarely gets mentioned. Sometime before the middle of the tenth century, a church and monastery was built on the platform of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus.⁵ By the early twentieth century, the memory of that Christian space had been demolished, literally, in favor of a presentation that spoke directly to the glory of Rome's past: majestically untouched by Christian Rome. Have we missed something similar at Ostia? Lacking evidence for a chapel, a monastery, or a church in one of the old sanctuary spaces at Ostia, it is difficult to say. We may not yet have the whole picture.

Because of the evidence we have today, we can safely conclude that only at the very end of Late Antiquity had Gregoriopolis and the gradual process of urban change at last achieved what Constantine and others had effected elsewhere across the Late Roman Empire in much shorter time. Conservative cultural views, the lasting power of family traditions, economic security among the wealthy residents, and a geographic position along the seashore that encouraged a diverse social environment – we can only speculate on the reasons why a Late Antique town like Ostia developed as it did. Nevertheless, by the ninth century the new walls of Gregory's city and the martyrs' churches in the surrounding territory had effectively replaced Ostia's traditional religious sites. The entire town – its trees, weeds, and foliage – was creeping toward a state of “absent presence,” soon to become a relic from another age.

Next steps: Christians, Jews, and Muslims at Ostia

The twilight of Late Antiquity, or the dawn of the Middle Ages, witnessed the arrival of one more religious community here on the Roman shore. In

⁴ Kaldellis 2009, 23–47.

⁵ Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 139–43.



56. Temple Mount–Noble Sanctuary (Haram al-Sharif), Jerusalem. View toward the east. Author's photograph, 2009.

849 CE, an army of the Aghlabids, a Muslim population based throughout North Africa, Sicily, and southern Italy – nominally an extension of the Abbasid dynasty in Baghdad – fought Pope Leo IV at the Battle of Ostia. Much later, Raphael and his assistants depicted the event on the walls of the Vatican Apartments begun for Julius II (Figure 57). Not surprisingly, this Renaissance fresco, commissioned by Julius's successor, Leo X, represents the Christian ruler, Leo's namesake, at his moment of victory, having successfully defended the Italian shore. The castle of Julius II, designed to replace the ninth-century fortifications of Gregory IV, is prominent in the background.

Unfortunately for the historian, the events leading up to and including this battle are still unclear. There is circumstantial evidence, however, to suggest that Islam had already arrived on the Italian peninsula decades or centuries earlier.⁶ Most likely, it was Islamic merchants and traders who were responsible for importing the game of chess to the cities of the Late Antique West, carrying it from its Persian origins to Spain, Italy, and other regions of the western Mediterranean, where its popularity soared. Indeed, by the middle of the eleventh century, it had become so popular in one diocese that the local bishop felt compelled to register

⁶ Canepa (2009, 181–82) discusses the cases for and against Sasanian or Arab transmission of the game to the Late Antique world.

his disapproval to the members of the Roman Curia. According to one retelling, the bishop “blushed with shame at the sight of priests engaged in ‘hunting, hawking and specially the madness of dice or chess.’”⁷ That man was Petrus Damiani – born in Ravenna at the turn of the (Christian) millennium, and at the time he wrote to the Roman pontiff, bishop of Ostia.

Petrus was complaining that animal and bird hunting, dice, and chess were turning his priests into farcical copies of their true pious selves.⁸ Counted among his more devout reflections, however, were memories of upstanding Christians from a far different age: in particular, a young woman who had given her name to the present church, whose martyrdom in the Tiber River provided the foundation story for the place where Petrus now preached.⁹ He knew her name, of course (Aurea), and also the name of the magistrate who had persecuted her, Ulpian, and knew that one of her companions, Nonnus (Hippolytus), had dragged her body from the river and buried her at Ostia.

Memories last, it seems, so long as they are useful. Those memories had been enshrined in the landscape for five centuries by Petrus Damiani’s day, and it was still important to communicate them, in the middle of the eleventh century, to the priests of his day and to the Curia in Rome. Much later, a list of all the bishops who held Petrus Damiani’s position would be compiled and passed down.¹⁰ Today, that list still has several gaps. It begins, nonetheless, with Cyriacus in the third century and testifies to the ways in which list making, memory making, and a selective engagement

⁷ Yalom 2004, 4–7, with the quotation (in English, lacking provenance) at 29.

⁸ “nam, ut turpiores attextantur ineptiae, pudore suffundor, videlicet venatus, aucupium, alearum insuper furiae, vel scacchorum (*sic*), quae nimirum de toto quidem sacerdote exhibent mimum,” Petr. Dam. *Apologeticus ob dimissum episcopatum* 7 (PL 145, col. 454B), addressed to Hildebrand, later Gregory VII.

⁹ “cumque beata Aurea apud Ostiam civitatem, saxo cervicibus alligato, in marinis fluctibus martyrium consummasset, b[eatus] Nonnus sanctum cadaver pia devotione collegit, et cum omni diligentia tumulavit. quem mox idem persecutor, qui dicebatur Ulpianus, iuxta Tiberis alveum in foveam aquis plenam mergi praecepit, cuius postmodum corpus, consummato triumphali martyrio, in civitate quae Portus dicitur Christiana devotio sepelivit,” Petr. Dam. *De abdicatione episcopatus ad Nicolaum II* (PL 145, col. 436D).

¹⁰ “Cyriacus, d. 229 CE. All dates after, *floruit*: Maximus 261, Maximus 313, Bonus 487, Bellator 499, Aristus 501, Gloriosus 595; Annibalis 649, Andreas 680, Gregorius I 707, Theodorus 745, Gregorius II 787.” The list was first published in 1712 by F. Ughelli in his magisterial *Italia sacra, sive de episcopis Italiae* (Venice 1717–22). For the Ostian bishops, see Maroni 1786, 49. See also the helpful note at Paschetto 1912, 185, n. 1. For memory in the Middle Ages, see Carruthers 1990.



57. Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio) (1483–1520). Battle of Ostia, depicting Gregoriopolis at rear left. Fresco. Stanze di Raffaello (Stanza dell'Incendio), Borgia Apartments. Vatican Palace, Vatican State. Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

with the past can shape perceptions of the present time. The physical landscape of Ostia participated in the invention of that world. But, as this book has shown, it was teeming with other memories, too. The sum of those voices is the history of Ostia in Late Antiquity.

A centralized church at Rome, an Italian town under the sway of one bishop's voice, and an authoritarian and normative view of how culture on the peninsula should be – here, then, even if some of the names still seem familiar, is a far different kind of Ostia from the one we first entered six chapters ago. It is a fitting end to this period and the beginning of another.

References

GREEK AND LATIN EDITIONS

- Anonymous Valesianus. *Aus der Zeit Theoderichs des Großen (From the Time of Theoderic the Great)*. Text, commentary, and translation by I. König. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997.
- Augustine. *Confessions*. Three volumes. Text and commentary by J. O'Donnell. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Cassiodorus. *Variarum*. Edited by Å. J. Fridh. CCSL 96. Turnholt: Brepols, 1958.
- (*Code Théodosien XVI*). *Le lois religieuses des empereurs romains de Constantin à Théodose II (312–438)*. Text by T. Mommsen, translation by J. Rougé, introduction and notes by R. Delmaire and F. Richard. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2005.
- (*Cosmographia*). *Geographi latini minores*. Edited by A. Riese. Heilbronn: Henninger, 1878.
- Eusebius. *Chronica*. Edited by J. K. Fotheringham. London: Humphrey Milford, 1923.
- Ignatius of Antioch. *The Apostolic Fathers*. Text and translation. Third edition. Edited by M. Holmes. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007.
- Isidore of Seville. *Etymologiae*. Edited by W. M. Lindsay. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911.
- John the Lydian. *De mensibus*. Edited by R. Wuensch. Leipzig: Teubner, 1898.
- Minucius Felix. *Octavius*. Text, commentary, and translation by J. Beaujeu. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964.
- (*Panegyrici Latini*). *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini*. Text, translation, and commentary by C. Nixon and B. Saylor Rodgers. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Procopius. *History of the Wars: Books 5–6.15*. Text and translation by H. Dewing. Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 1993.
- Prudentius. *Prudentius: Volume 2*. Text and translation by H. Thomson. Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 1995.

- Rutilius Claudius Namatianus. *Sur son retour* (De reditu suo). Text, commentary, and translation by É. Wolff with S. Lancel and J. Soler. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2007.
- (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*). *Historia Augusta*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922–32.
- Servius. *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid*. Edited by G. Thilo. Leipzig: Teubner, 1883.
- Stephanus of Constantinople (Byzantium). *Opera*. Edited by K. W. Dindorf with L. Holsteinus, A. Berkelius, and T. de Pinedo. Leipzig: Libraria Kuehniana, 1825.

OTHER WORKS CITED

- Albo, C. 2002. "Il Capitolium di Ostia: alcune considerazioni sulla tecnica edilizia ed ipotesi ricostruttive." *MÉFRA* 114: 363–90.
- Alchermes, J. 1994. "Spolia in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse." *DOP* 48: 167–78.
- Alcock, S. 2002. *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Aldrete, G. 2007. *Floods of the Tiber in Ancient Rome*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Alföldi, A. 1937. *A Festival of Isis in Rome under the Christian Emperor in the Fourth Century*. Budapest: Pázmány University.
- Alföldi, G. 2001. "Difficillima tempora: Urban Life, Inscriptions and Mentality in Late Antique Rome." In *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts*, 3–24. Edited by T. Burns and J. Eadie. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- Alvar Ezquerro, J. 2008. *Romanising Oriental Gods: Myth, Salvation and Ethics in the Cults of Cybele, Isis and Mithras*. Translated and edited by R. Gordon. Leiden: Brill.
- Amory, P. 1997. *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ando, C. 2008. "Decline, Fall, and Transformation." *JLA* 1: 31–60.
- Arnheim, M. 1972. *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ashmore, W., and B. Knapp (eds.). 1999. *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Assmann, A. 2006. *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*. Third edition. Munich: Beck.
- Assmann, J. 2006. *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*. Translated by R. Livingstone. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Auffart, C. 2009. "Götterbilder im römischen Griechenland: Von Temple zum Museum?" In *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire*,

- 307–26. Edited by O. Hekster, S. Schmidt-Hofner, and C. Witschel. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2008. “Teure Ideologie – billige Praxis: Die ‘kleinen’ Opfer in der römischen Kaiserzeit.” In *Transformations in Sacrificial Practices: From Antiquity to Modern Times*, 147–70. Edited by E. Stavrianopoulou, A. Michaels, and C. Ambos. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Badgeley, C. D. 1929. “The Capitolium at Ostia.” *MAAR* 7: 221–23.
- Bakker, J. T. 2010. *Ostia: Harbor City of Ancient Rome*. <http://www.ostia-antica.org>. February 10, 2010.
- . (ed.). 1999. *The Mills–Bakeries of Ostia: Description and Interpretation*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.
- . 1994. *Living and Working with the Gods: Ostia 100–500 AD*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.
- Bardill, J. 2012. *Constantine: Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bargagli, B., and C. Grosso. 1997. *I fasti ostienses: documento della storia di Ostia*. Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali.
- Barker, G., and J. Lloyd (eds.). 1991. *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region*. London: British School at Rome.
- Barnes, T. D. 2011. *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- . 1995. “Statistics and the Conversion of the Roman Aristocracy.” *JRS* 85: 135–47.
- Bassett, S. 2004. *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bauer, F. A. 2003. “Stadtbild und Heiligenlegende: Die Christianisierung Ostias in der spätantiken Gedankenwelt.” In *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung*, 43–62. Edited by G. Brands and H. G. Severin. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- . 2001. “Urban Space and Ritual: Constantinople in Late Antiquity.” *ActaAArtHist* 15: 27–61.
- . 1996. *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Bauer, F. A., and M. Heinzelmann. 2001. “L’église épiscopale d’Ostie.” In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 278–82. Edited by Jean-Paul Descœudres. Geneva: Musées d’art et d’histoire.
- . 1999a. “The Constantinian Bishop’s Church at Ostia: Preliminary Report on the 1998 Season.” *JRA* 12: 342–53.
- . 1999b. “Die frühchristliche Basilika in der Regio V: erste Grabungsergebnisse.” *Meded* 58: 25.
- . 1999c. “Untersuchungen im Bereich der konstantinischen Bischofskirche Ostias: Vorbericht zur ersten Grabungskampagne 1998.” *RM* 106: 289–341.

- Bauer, F. A., M. Heinzelmann, and A. Martin. 2000. "Ostia. Ein urbanistisches Forschungsprojekt in den unausgegrabenen Bereichen des Stadtgebiets: Vorbericht zur 2. Grabungskampagne 1999." *RM* 107: 375–415.
- Bauer, F. A., and C. Witschel (eds.). 2007. *Statuen in der Spätantike*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Baxandall, M. 1991. "Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, 33–41. Edited by I. Karp and S. Lavine. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Bayliss, R. 2004. *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Beard, M. 1987. "A Complex of Times: No More Sheep on Romulus' Birthday." *PCPS* 213: 1–15.
- Beard, M., J. North, and S. Price. 1998. *Religions of Rome*. Two volumes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Becatti, G. 1969. *Scavi di Ostia 6: Edificio con 'opus sectile' fuori Porta Marina*. Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello stato.
- . 1961. *Scavi di Ostia 4: Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*. Two volumes. Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello stato.
- . 1954. *Scavi di Ostia 2: I Mitrei*. Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello stato.
- . 1948. "Case ostiensi del tardo impero." *BdA* 33: 102–28, 197–224.
- . 1942. "Nuovo documento del culto di Ercole ad Ostia." *BullCom* 70: 115–25.
- . 1938–39. "Il culto di Ercole ad Ostia." *BullCom* 67: 37–60.
- Beck, R. 2006. *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire: Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1984. "Mithraism since Franz Cumont." *ANRW* 2.17.4: 2002–115.
- Bellah, R. 1967. "Civil Religion in America." *Daedalus* 96: 1–21.
- Bender, B. 1998. *Stonehenge: Making Space*. Oxford: Berg.
- Bergmann, B. 1994. "The Roman House as Memory Theater: The House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii." *Art Bulletin* 76: 225–56.
- Bergmann, M. 2007. "Die Kaiserzeitlichen Porträts der Villa von Chiragan: Spätantike Sammlung oder gewachsenes Ensemble?" In *Statuen in der Spätantike*, 323–40. Edited by F. A. Bauer and C. Witschel. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Berlioz, S. 1997. "Il Campus Magnae Matris di Ostia." *Cahiers Glotz* 8: 97–110.
- Berlo, J., R. Phillips, C. Duncan, D. Preziosi, D. Rice, and A. Rorimer. 1995. "The Problematics of Collecting and Display, Part 1." *ArtB* 77: 6–23.
- Bignamini, I. 2001. "Histoire de la découverte et de la recherche du Moyen Age à 1800." In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 41–47. Edited by Jean-Paul Descocudres. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire.
- Bisconti, F. 2004. "L'affresco del S. Agostino." *MÉFRA* 116: 51–78.

- Bisconti, F., and D. Mazzoleni. 2005. *Alle origini del culto dei martiri: Testimonianze nell'archeologia cristiana*. Rome: Arcane.
- Bjørnebye, J. 2007. "Hic locus est felix, sanctus, piusque benignus': The Cult of Mithras in Fourth-Century Rome." Ph.D. diss., University of Bergen, Norway.
- Bloch, H. 1963. "The Pagan Revival in the West at the End of the Fourth Century." In *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, 193–218. Edited by A. Momigliano. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1959. "The Serapeum of Ostia and the Brick Stamps of 123 A.D.: A New Landmark in the History of Roman Architecture." *AJA* 63: 225–40.
- . 1947. *I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana*. Rome: Ripartizione antichità e belle arti.
- . 1945. "A New Document in the Last Pagan Revival in the West, 393–394 A.D." *HTR* 38: 199–244.
- Boatwright, M. 1987. *Hadrian and the City of Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bocherens, C. 2007. "Le propriétaire de la Domus aux Bucranes." In *Villas, maisons, sanctuaires et tombeaux tardo-républicain: découvertes et relectures récentes*, 49–54. Edited by B. Perrier and A. G. Zevi. Rome: Quasar.
- Bocherens, C., and F. Zevi. 2007. "La 'schola du Trajan' et la domus du consul Caius Fabius Agrippinus à Ostie." *ArchCl* 58: 257–71.
- Boersma, J. 1985. *Amoenissima Civitas: Block 5.2 at Ostia (Description and Analysis of Visible Remains)*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Bohak, G. 2008. *Ancient Jewish Magic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2003. "Hebrew, Hebrew Everywhere? Notes on the Interpretation of *Voces Magicae*." In *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, 69–82. Edited by S. Noegel and J. Walker. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University.
- Boin, D. Forthcoming. *Coming Out Christian in the Roman World*. New York: Bloomsbury Press.
- . 2013. "New Light on the 'Religious' Meaning of Two Famous *Paganus* Inscriptions: A Later Date (*CIL* 6.30463) and a Red Herring (*CIL* 10.7112)." Paper read at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, January 3–6, Seattle, WA.
- . 2012. "The Discovery of a Late Antique Statuary Collection at Ostia's Sanctuary of Magna Mater: New Light on the Reinvention of Roman Religion in the Late Fourth Century." Paper read at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, November 17–20, Chicago, IL.
- . 2010a. "A Hall for Hercules at Ostia and a Farewell to the Late Antique 'Pagan Revival.'" *AJA* 114: 253–66.
- . 2010b. "Late Antique Ostia and a Campaign for Pious Tourism: Epitaphs for Bishop Cyriacus and Monica, Mother of Augustine." *JRS* 100: 195–209.

- . 2010c. “The Martyrdom of Aurea: Text, Translation and Commentary.” *Ostia: Harbor City of Ancient Rome*. <http://www.ostia-antica.org/~atexts/actasanc.htm>. December 31, 2010.
- . 2009. “Temples and Traditions in Late Antique Ostia, c.250–600.” Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin.
- Bollmann, B. 1998. *Römische Vereinshäuser: Untersuchungen zu den Scholae der römischen Berufs-, Kult- und Augustalen-Kollegien in Italien*. Mainz: Von Zabern.
- Bonner, C. 1950. *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Boos, M. 2006. “Neue Überlegungen zum Kult des Volcanus in Ostia.” *FeRA* 2: 26–30.
- Borgeaud, P. 1996. *La Mère des Dieux: de Cybèle à la Vierge Marie*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Borrello, L., M. Maiorano, L. Paroli, and M. Serlorenzi. 2002. “La basilica urbana di Porto.” In *Ecclesiae Urbis: Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulle Chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo)*, Roma, 4–10 settembre 2000, 1263–85. Edited by F. Guidobaldi and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
- Bowden, H. 2010. *Mystery Cults in the Ancient World*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Bowden, W. 2001. “A New Urban Élite? Church Builders and Church Building in Late Antique Epirus.” In *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism* (JRA Supplementary Series 42), 56–67. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Bowden, W., L. Lavan, and C. Machado (eds.). 2004. *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bowersock, G. 2006. *Mosaics as History: The Near East from Late Antiquity to Islam*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 1995. *Martyrdom and Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1978. *Julian the Apostate*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bowersock, G., P. Brown, and O. Grabar (eds.). 1999. *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bowes, K. 2010. *Houses and Society in the Later Roman Empire*. London: Duckworth.
- . 2008. *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2005. “Une coterie espagnole pieuse: Christian Archaeology and Christian Communities in Fourth- and Fifth-Century Hispania.” In *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, 189–258. Edited by K. Bowes and M. Kulikowski. Boston: Brill.
- . 2001. “Ivory Lists: Consular Diptychs, Christian Appropriation and Polemics of Time in Late Antiquity.” *Art History* 24: 338–57.

- Bowes, K., and M. Kulikowski (eds.). 2005. *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*. Boston: Brill.
- Boyarin, D. 2003. "Semantic Differences; or, 'Judaism'/'Christianity.'" In *The Ways That Never Parted*, 65–86. Edited by A. Becker and A. Y. Reed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Bradbury, S. 1996. *Severus of Minorca: Letter on the Conversion of the Jews*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1995. "Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice." *Phoenix* 49: 331–56.
- Bradley, R. 2000. *An Archaeology of Natural Places*. London: Routledge.
- . 1998. *The Significance of Monuments*. London: Routledge.
- Brandenburg, H. 2004. *La prime chiese di Roma (IV–VII secolo): L'inizio dell'architettura ecclesiastica occidentale*. Milan: Jaca Book.
- Brandt, O. 2008. "I muri trasversali di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme e la sinagoga di Ostia." *OpAthRom* 1: 155–66.
- . 2004. "Jews and Christians in Late Antique Rome and Ostia: Some Aspects of Archaeological and Documentary Evidence." *OpRom* 29: 7–27.
- Braudel, F. 1958. "Histoire et sciences sociales: La longue durée." *Annales* 13: 725–53.
- Brendel, O. 1979. *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Brenk, B. 2005. *Architettura e immagini del sacro nella tarda antichità*. Spoleto: Fondazione centro italiano studi sull'altro medioevo.
- . 2003. *Die Christianisierung der spätrömischen Welt: Stadt, Land, Haus, Kirche und Kloster in frühchristlicher Zeit*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- . 2001. "La christianisation d'Ostie." In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 262–71. Edited by Jean-Paul Descœudres. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire.
- . 1998. "Ostia tardo antica." *RACrist* 74: 523–37.
- . 1987. "Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics vs. Ideology." *DOP* 41: 103–10.
- Brenk, B., and P. Pensabene. 1998–99. "Christliche Basilika oder christliche 'Domus der Tigriniani'; la c.d. basilica cristiana e i magazzini di marmi a Ostia, gli elementi architettonici in marmo dell'elevato." *Boreas* 21–22: 271–99.
- Briggs, C. 1930. "The 'Pantheon' of Ostia." *MAAR* 8: 161–69.
- Brodd, J. 2011. "Religion, Roman Religion, Emperor Worship." In *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult*, 35–47. Edited by J. Brodd and J. Reed. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Brouwer, H. 1989. *Bona Dea: The Sources and a Description of the Cult*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Brown, P. 2012. *Through the Eye of the Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- . 2003. *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, AD 200–1000*. Second edition. Malden: Blackwell.
- . 2000. *Augustine of Hippo*. Second edition. London: Faber and Faber.
- . 1995. *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of Christianization in the Roman World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- . 1992. *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- . 1988. *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 1981. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1980. "Art and Society in Late Antiquity." In *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium*, 17–28. Edited by K. Weitzmann. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 1977. *Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours*. Reading: University of Reading.
- . 1972. *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.
- Bukowiecki, E., H. Dessales, and J. Dubouloz. 2008. *Ostie, l'eau dans la ville: châteaux d'eau et réseau d'adduction*. Rome: Publications de l'école française de Rome.
- Bundy, D. 1987. "The *Acts of Saint Gallicanus*: A Study of the Structural Relations." *Byzantion* 57: 12–31.
- Burkert, W. 1987. *Ancient Mystery Cults*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Burzachechi, M. 1957–59. "L'iscrizione cristiana della 'basilica' di Ostia." *Rend-PontAcc* 30–31: 177–87.
- Calabria, P. 2001. "Le monnaie d'Ostie." In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 137–40. Edited by Jean-Paul Descoeudres. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire.
- Calandra, E. 2000. "Documenti inediti sul Tempio di Roma e di Augusto a Ostia." *RM* 107: 417–50.
- Calza, G. 1949–51. "Nuove testimonianze del cristianesimo ad Ostia." *Rend-PontAcc* 25–26: 135–38.
- . 1946. "Il santuario della Magna Mater a Ostia." *MemPontAcc* 6: 183–205.
- . 1942. "Il tempio della Bona Dea." *NSc* 67: 152–65.
- . 1941. "Edificio degli Augustali." *NSc* 66: 196–209.
- . 1939–40. "Una basilica di età costantiniana scoperta ad Ostia." *Rend-PontAcc* 17: 63–88.
- . 1939. "Le botteghe in Roma antica." *Capitolium* 14: 221–30.
- . 1938. "La resurrezione di Ostia antica per l'Esposizione Universale di Roma." *Gnomon* 605–08.

- . 1926. *Ostia: Historical Guide to the Monuments*. Translated by R. Weeden-Cooke. Milan: Bestetti and Tumminelli.
- . 1925. *The Excavations at Ostia: Guide for Visiting the Ruins*. Milan: Bestetti and Tumminelli.
- . 1919. "Ostia: Scoperta di due piccole tombe presso il Cimitero di S. Ercolano; miscellanea epigrafica." *NSc* 16: 70–80.
- . 1918. "L'arte magica di Saolomone nella tradizione letteraria ed artistica." *BullCom* 46: 85–100.
- . 1917. "La casa detta di Diana; un amuleto magico con l'effigie di Salmone." *NSc* 14: 312–28.
- Calza, G., G. Becatti, I. Gismondi, G. de Angelis d'Ossat, and H. Bloch. 1954. *Scavi di Ostia 1: Topografia generale*. Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello stato.
- Calza, R., and E. Nash. 1959. *Ostia*. Florence: Sansoni.
- Calza-de Chirico, R. 1977. *Scavi di Ostia 9: Ritratti romani dal 160 c. alla metà del III secolo d.c.* Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello stato.
- . 1964–65. "Le sculture e la probabile zona cristiana di Ostia e di Porto." *RendPontAcc* 37: 155–257.
- . 1964. *Scavi di Ostia 5: I ritratti (ritratti greci e romani fino al 160 circa d.c.)*. Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello stato.
- . 1946. "Le sculture rinvenute nel santuario della Magna Mater." *MemPontAcc* 6: 207–27.
- . 1942. "Il tempio della Bona Dea." *NSc* 67: 152–65.
- . 1941a. "Nuova statua-ritratto del basso impero trovata ad Ostia." *BullCom* 69: 113–28.
- . 1941b. "Sculture proveniente dall'edificio degli Augustali." *NSc* 66: 216–41.
- Cameron, Alan. 2011. *The Last Pagans of Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2007. "The Imperial Pontifex." *HSCP* 103: 341–84.
- . 1999. "The Last Pagans of Rome." In *The Transformations of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity* (JRA Supplement Series 33). Edited by W. Harris, 109–21. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- . 1969. "Theodosius the Great and the Regency of Stilico." *HSCP* 73: 247–80.
- . 1968. "Gratian's Repudiation of the Pontifical Robe." *JRS* 58: 96–102.
- . 1966. "The Date and Identity of Macrobius." *JRS* 56: 25–38.
- Cameron, Averil. 1999. "Remaking the Past." In *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, 1–20. Edited by G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- . 1985. *Procopius and the Sixth Century*. London: Routledge.
- Canepa, M. 2009. *The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Cantino Wataghin, G. 1995. "Spazio cristiano e 'civitates': status quaestiones." In *Materiali per una topografia urbana: Status quaestiones e nuove acquisizioni*, 201–37. Edited by P. Spanu. Oristano: Editrice S'Alvure.
- . 1992. "Urbs e civitas nella tarda antichità: linee di ricerca." In *La 'civitas cristiana' urbanistica delle città italiane fra antichità e altomedioevo*, 7–40. Edited by P. Demeglio and C. Lambert. Cagliari: Università degli studi di Cagliari.
- Cantino Wataghin, G., M. Cecchelli, and L. Pani Ermini. 2001. "L'edificio battesimale nel tessuto della città tardoantica e altomedievale in Italia." In *L'edificio battesimale in Italia: aspetti e problemi*, 1:231–65. Bordighera: Istituto internazionale di studi liguri.
- Carcopino, J. 1919. *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Carrié, J.-M. 1975. "Les distributions alimentaires dans les cités de l'empire romain tardif." *MÉFRA* 87: 995–1101.
- Carroll, L. 2001. *The Annotated Alice: Alice in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass*. Edited by J. Tenniel and M. Gardner. London: Penguin.
- Carruthers, M. 1990. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carver, G. 1978. "Minucius Felix and Cyprian: The Question of Priority." *TAPA* 108: 21–34.
- Casamassa, A. 1952–1954. "Ritrovamento di parte dell' elogio di S. Monica." *RendPontAcc* 27: 271.
- Caseau, B. 1999. "Sacred Landscapes." In *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Post-classical World*, 21–59. Edited by G. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Castelli, E. 2004. *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Cecchelli, M. 2003. *Le chiese paleocristiane di Roma: I luoghi di culto nell'Urbe dal I al VII secolo dell'era cristiana* (Roma Archeologica Itinerario 16–17). Rome: Elio de Rosa.
- Champlin, E. J. 1982. "Saint Gallicanus (Consul 317)." *Phoenix* 36: 71–76.
- Chastagnol, A. 1969. "La restauration du temple d'Isis au Portus Romae sous le règne de Gratien." *Hommages à Marcel Rendard (Latomus 102)* 2: 135–44.
- . 1962. *Les Fastes de la préfecture de Rome au bas-empire*. Paris: Nouvelle édition latine.
- . 1960. *La Préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le bas-empire*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
- . 1956. "Le Sénateur Volusien et la conversion d'une famille de l'aristocratie romaine au bas-empire." *REA* 58: 241–53.
- Chenault, R. 2008. "Rome without Emperors: The Revival of a Senatorial City in the Fourth Century C.E." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan.
- Christie, N. 2006. *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy, AD 300–800*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

- . 1995. *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Cicerchia, P. 1987. "Ostia Antica, il cosiddetto palazzo: notazioni preliminari sullo scavo ed il restauro di un settore." *Archeologia laziale* 9: 195–204.
- Claridge, A. 1998. *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Claridge, A., and A. G. Zevi. 1996. *'Roman Ostia' Revisited: Archaeological and Historical Papers in Memory of Russell Meiggs*. London: British School at Rome.
- Clark, E. 1986. *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.
- . 1984. *The Life of Melania the Younger*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Clarke, J. 2003. *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 315*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Clauss, M. 2000. *The Roman Cult of Mithras: The God and His Mysteries*. Translated by R. Gordon. London: Routledge.
- Coarelli, F. 2004. "Per una 'topografia gamaliana' di Ostia." In *JRA Supplement* 57, 89–98. Edited by A. Gallina Zevi and J. Humphrey. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Coccia, S. 1996. "Il *portus Romae* alla fine dell'antichità." In *'Roman Ostia' Revisited: Archaeological and Historical Papers in Memory of Russell Meiggs*, 293–307. Edited by A. Claridge and A. Gallina Zevi. London: British School at Rome.
- Coccia, S., and L. Paroli. 1990a. "La basilica di Pianabella di Ostia antica nelle sue relazioni con il paesaggio fra tardo antico ed alto medioevo." *Archeologia laziale* 10: 177–81.
- . 1990b. "Ostia antica. Località Pinabella. La basilica cristiana." *BA* 2: 214–17.
- Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cooper, K. 2007. "Poverty, Obligation, and Inheritance: Roman Heiresses and the Varieties of Senatorial Christianity in Fifth-Century Rome." In *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900*, 165–89. Edited by K. Cooper and J. Hillner. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1999. "The Martyr, the *Matrona*, and the Bishop: The Matron Lucina and the Politics of Martyr Cult in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Rome." *Early Medieval Europe* 3: 297–317.
- . 1996. *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- . 1992. "Insinuations of Womanly Influence: An Aspect of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy." *JRS* 82: 150–64.

- Cooper, K., and J. Hillner. 2007. "Introduction." In *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900*, 1–18. Edited by K. Cooper and J. Hillner. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Costambeys, M. 2001. "Burial Topography and the Power of the Church in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Rome." *PBSR* 69: 169–89.
- Cozza, L., and P. L. Tucci. 2006. "Navalia." *ArchCl* 57: 175–202.
- Crumley, C. 1999. "Sacred Landscapes: Constructed and Conceptualized." In *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, 269–76. Edited by W. Ashmore and B. Knapp. Malden: Blackwell.
- Cumont, F. 1911. *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company.
- Curran, J. 2000. *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1994. "Moving Statues in Late Antique Rome: Problems of Perspective." *Art History* 17: 46–58.
- Cutler, A. 1998. *Late Antique and Byzantine Ivory Carving*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- David, J. 2000. "The Exclusion of Women in the Mithraic Mysteries: Ancient or Modern?" *Numen* 47: 121–41.
- Davies, P. 2000. *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1997. "The Politics of Perpetuation: Trajan's Column and the Art of Commemoration." *AJA* 101: 41–65.
- Davis, D. 2009. "Commercial Navigation in the Greek and Roman World." Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin.
- de Blaauw, S. 1994. *Cultus et Décor*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
- de Blois, L. 2006. "Emperorship in a Period of Crisis: Changes in Emperor Worship, Imperial Ideology and Perceptions of Imperial Authority in the Roman Empire in the Third Century A.D." In *The Impact of Imperial Rome on Religions, Ritual and Religious Life in the Roman Empire*, 268–78. Edited by L. de Blois, P. Funke, and J. Hahn. Leiden: Brill.
- De Caro, S. 1968. "Un nuovo pontefice di Vulcano ad Ostia." *Epigraphica* 30: 75–82.
- Deichmann, F. W. 1958. *Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*. Baden-Baden: Verlag Bruno Grimm für Kunst und Wissenschaft.
- De Jong, M., and F. Theuws with C. van Rhijn (eds.). 2001. *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill.
- DeLaine, J. 2006. "Baths and Bathing in Late Antique Ostia." In *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities*, 338–43. Edited by C. Mattusch, A. Donohue, and A. Brauer. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- . 2005. "The Commercial Landscape of Ostia." In *Roman Working Lives and Urban Living*, 29–47. Edited by A. MacMahon and J. Price. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

- . 2004. "Designing for a Market: 'Medianum' Apartments at Ostia." *JRA* 17: 146–76.
- Delbrueck, R. 1929. *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*. Berlin: Verlag von W. de Gruyter & Co.
- Deliyannis, D. 2010. *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dennis, H. 1929. "The Date of the Octavius." *AJP* 50: 185–89.
- Derks, T. 1997. "The Transformation of Landscape and Religious Representations in Roman Gaul." *Archaeological Dialogues* 4: 126–47.
- De Rossi, G. B. 1870. "Lucerne cristiane, trovate fra molti e preziosi arnesi d'arte profana in una casa antica di Ostia." *BACrist* 8: 77–85.
- . 1865. "Un'esplorazione sotterranea sulla via Salaria vecchia." *BACrist* 3: 1–8.
- Descœudres, J.-P. 2005. "La vignette d'Ostie dans la Tabula Peutingeriana." *Genava* 53: 77–84.
- . (ed.). 2001. *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire.
- Dey, H. 2011. *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, A.D. 271–855*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2010. "Art, Ceremony, and City Walls: The Aesthetics of Imperial Resurgence in the Late Roman West." *JLA* 3: 3–37.
- Dickie, M. 2003. *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*. London: Routledge.
- Diefenbach, S. 2008. *Römische Erinnerungsräume: Heiligenmemoria und kollektive Identitäten im Roms des 3. bis 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Dijkstra, J. 2004. "A Cult of Isis at Philae after Justinian? Reconsidering 'P. Cair. Masp.' I 67004." *ZPE* 146: 137–54.
- Dobell, B. 2009. *Augustine's Intellectual Conversion: The Journey from Platonism to Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Donati, N., and P. Stefanetti. 2006. *Dies Natalis: I calendari romani e gli anniversari dei culti*. Rome: Edizioni Quasar.
- Drake, H. 2007. "Solar Power in Late Antiquity." In *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, 215–35. Edited by A. Cain and N. Lenski. Burlington: Ashgate.
- . 2000. *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dufourcq, A. 1988. *Étude sur les Gesta Martyrum romains: Les légendes grecques et les légendes latines*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Duncan-Jones, R. 1982. *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dunn, J. 1999. *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways, A.D. 70 to 135*. Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing.

- Eastman, D. 2011. *Paul the Martyr: The Cult of the Apostle in the Latin West*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Ebbeler, J., and C. Sogno. 2007. "Religious Identity and the Politics of Patronage: Symmachus and Augustine." *Historia* 56: 230–42.
- Echterhoff, G., and M. Saar (eds.). 2002. *Kontexte und Kulturen des Erinnerns*. Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Eck, W. 2007. "Krise oder Nichtkrise: Das ist hier die Frage. Köln und sein Territorium in der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts." In *Crises and the Roman Empire*, 23–43. Edited by O. Hekster, G. de Kleijn, and D. Slootjes. Leiden: Brill.
- Edwards, C. 1996. *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ehrman, B. 2003. *Lost Christianities: The Battle for Scripture and the Faiths We Never Knew*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ellis, S. 1991. "Power, Architecture and Décor: How the Late Roman Aristocrat Appeared to His Guests." In *Roman Art of the Private Sphere: New Perspectives on the Architecture and Décor of the Domus, Villa and Insula*, 117–34. Edited by E. Gazda. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Elsner, J. 2005. "Piety and Passion: Contest and Consensus in the Audiences for Early Christian Pilgrimage." In *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity*, 411–34. Edited by J. Elsner and I. Rutherford. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2004. "Late Antique Art: The Problem of the Concept and the Cumulative Aesthetic." In *Approaching Late Antiquity: The Transformation from Early to Late Empire*, 271–309. Edited by S. Swain and M. Edwards. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2003a. "Iconoclasm and the Preservation of Memory." In *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, 209–31. Edited by R. S. Nelson and M. Olin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2003b. "Inventing Christian Rome: The Role of Early Christian Art." In *Rome the Cosmopolis*, 71–99. Edited by C. Edwards and G. Woolf. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2000. "From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms." *PBSR* 68: 149–84.
- . 1998. *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 1996. "Image and Ritual: Reflections on the Religious Appreciation of Classical Art." *CQ* 45: 515–31.
- . 1995. *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ensoli, S., and E. La Rocca (eds.). 2001. *Aurea Roma: Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

- Episcopo, E. 1980. "Saggi di scavo presso S. Aurea a Ostia." *Archeologia laziale* 3: 228–32.
- Erim, K., J. Reynolds, and M. Crawford. 1971. "Diocletian's Currency Reform: A New Inscription." *JRS* 61: 171–77.
- Falzone, S. 2006. "Le pitture del santuario della Bona Dea ad Ostia (5.2.10)." *ArchCl* 57: 405–44.
- Fea, C. 1802. *Relazione di un viaggio ad Ostia e alla villa Plinio detta Laurentio*. Rome: A. Fulgoni.
- Fear, A. T. 1996. "Cybele and Christ." In *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M. J. Vermaseren*, 37–50. Edited by E. Lane. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Feeney, D. 1998. *Literature and Religion at Rome: Cultures, Contexts, and Beliefs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fentress, E., C. Goodson, M. Laird, and S. Leone. 2005. *Walls and Memory: The Abbey of San Sebastian at Alatri (Lazio)*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Fentress, J., and C. Wickham. 1992. *Social Memory*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Février, P. A. 1958. "Ostie et Porto à la fin de l'antiquité." *MÉFR* 70: 295–330.
- Fine, S. 2005. *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Finley, M. 1985. *Ancient History: Evidence and Models*. New York: Viking.
- Fishwick, D. 2005. *Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Three volumes. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Fitzgerald, F. Scott. 1992. *The Great Gatsby*. New York: Scribner.
- Frakes, R., and E. Digeser (eds.). 2006. *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity*. Toronto: Edgar Kent.
- Frankfurter, D. 2008. "Iconoclasm and Christianization in Late Antique Egypt: Christian Treatments of Space and Image." In *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, 135–60. Edited by J. Hahn, S. Emmel, and U. Gotter. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- . 2005a. "Urban Shrine and Rural Saint in Fifth-Century Alexandria." In *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity*, 435–49. Edited by J. Elsner and I. Rutherford. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2005b. "Beyond Magic and Superstition." In *A People's History of Christianity. Late Antique Christianity*, 255–84. Edited by V. Burrus. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Fredriksen, P. 2008. *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism*. New York: Doubleday.
- . 2003. "What 'Parting of the Ways'? Jews, Gentiles and the Ancient Mediterranean City." In *The Ways That Never Parted*, 35–65. Edited by A. Becker and A. Y. Reed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Friedman, T. 2000. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Frye, R. 1983. *The History of Ancient Iran*. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlag.
- Fuhrmann, H. 1941. "C. Caecionius Rufus Volusianus." *Epigraphica* 3: 103–09.

- Gager, J. 1985. *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Galinsky, K. 2011. *Memoria Romana Homepage*. <http://www.utexas.edu/research/memoria.html>. January 31, 2011.
- . 1996. *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gasparri, S. 2006. “La situazione storica al tempo di Gregorio Magno.” In *Gregorio Magno e l'invenzione del Medioevo*, 27–40. Edited by L. Ricci. Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo.
- Gauthier, N. 1999. “La topografie chrétienne entre idéologie et pragmatisme.” In *The Idea and the Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, 195–209. Edited by G. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins. Leiden: Brill.
- Gedi, N., and Y. Elam. 1996. “Collective Memory: What Is It?” *History and Memory* 8: 30–50.
- Geertz, C. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gell, A. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gentile, E. 2007. *Fascismo in pietra*. Rome: Laterza.
- Gering, A. 2010. “Genusskultur und Ghettobildung: Ist Ostia repräsentativ für spätantike Metropolen?” In *Die antike Stadt in Umbruch*, 94–108. Edited by N. Burkhardt and R. Stichel. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- . 2004. “Plätze und Straßensperren an Promenaden: Zum Funktionswandel Ostias in der Spätantike.” *RM* 111: 299–382.
- . 2002. “Die Case a Giardino als unerfüllter Architektentraum: Planung und gewandelte Nutzung einer Luxuswohnanlage im antiken Ostia.” *RM* 109: 109–40.
- Gering, A., L. Kaumanns, and L. Lavan. 2011. “Das Stadtzentrum von Ostia in der Spätantike: Vorbericht zu den Ausgrabungen 2008–2011.” *RM* 117: 409–509.
- Gessert, G. 2006. “*Et domus et collegium*: Ostia’s ‘Domus del Tempio Rotondo’ Reconsidered.” In *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities*, 326–30. Edited by C. Mattusch, A. Donohue, and A. Brauer. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- . 2001. “Urban Spaces, Public Decoration and Civic Identity in Ancient Ostia.” Ph.D. diss., Yale University.
- Giardina, A. 1988. “Carità eversiva: le donazioni di Melanie La Giovane e gli equilibri della società tardoromana.” *Studi storici* 29: 127–42.
- Gibbon, E. 1932. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Two volumes. New York: Modern Library.
- Gobbi, A. 1998a. “La cosiddetta basilica cristiana.” *Bollettino di Archeologia (Ostia: Materiali e tecniche edilizie)* 49–50: 131–33.

- . 1998b. “Nuove osservazioni sulle fasi costruttive della c.d. basilica cristiana di Ostia.” *RACrist* 74: 455–84.
- Goddard, C. 2006. “The Evolution of Pagan Sanctuaries in Late Antique Italy (Fourth–Sixth Centuries A.D.): A New Administrative and Legal Framework. In *Les cités de l'Italie tardo-antique (IV^e–VI^e siècle): institutions, économie, société, culture et religion*, 281–308. Edited by M. Ghilardi, C. Goddard, and P. Porena. Rome: École française de Rome.
- Goffman, E. 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Gowing, A. 2005. *Empire and Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grabar, A. 1966. *Byzantium: From the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Grabar, O. 1987. *The Formation of Islamic Art*. Revised and enlarged edition. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Green, R. 1995. “Proba’s *Cento*: Its Date, Purpose and Reception.” *CQ* 45: 551–63.
- Greenblatt, S. 1991. “Resonance and Wonder.” In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, 42–56. Edited by I. Karp and S. Lavine. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Greene, K. 1990. *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grégoire, H., and P. Orgels. 1954. “S. Gallicanus, consul et martyr dans la passion des SS. Jean et Paul et sa vision ‘constantinienne’ du crucifié.” *Byzantion* 24: 579–605.
- Griffith, A. 2006. “Completing the Picture: Women and the Female Principle in the Mithraic Cult.” *Numen* 53: 48–77.
- Grig, L. 2009. “Imagining the Capitolium in Late Antiquity.” In *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, 279–91. Edited by A. Cain and N. Lenski. Burlington: Ashgate.
- . 2004a. *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity*. London: Duckworth.
- . 2004b. “Portraits, Pontiffs and the Christianization of Fourth-Century Rome.” *PBSR* 72: 203–30.
- Guattani, G. 1805. *Monumenti antichi inediti ovvero notizie sulle antichità e belle arti di Roma per l'anno 1805*. Rome: Pagliarini.
- Guidobaldi, F. 2001a. “Architettura come codice di trasmissione dell’immagine dell’imperatore, dai Severi all’età costantiniana.” *ActaAArtHist* 15: 13–26.
- . 2001b. “La decorazione in opus sectile dell’aula presso Porta Marina a Ostia.” In *Aurea Roma: Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, 251–62. Edited by S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca. Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider.
- . 1986. “L’edilizia abitativa unifamiliare nella Roma tardoantica.” In *Società romana e impero tardoantico II*, 165–237. Edited by A. Giardina. Rome: Laterza.

- Habas, L. 2000. "The *Bema* and Chancel Screen in Synagogues and Their Origin." In *From Dura to Sepphoris: Studies in Jewish Art and Society in Late Antiquity* (JRA Supplement Series 40), 111–30. Edited by L. Levine and Z. Weiss. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Hahn, J., S. Emmel, and U. Gotter (eds.). 2008. *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*. Leiden: Brill.
- Halbwachs, M. 1984. *On Collective Memory*. Edited and translated by L. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hamilton, G. J., and A. H. Smith. 1906. "Gavin Hamilton's Letters to Charles Townley." *JHS* 21: 306–21.
- Hannestad, N. 2001. "The Ruler Image of the Fourth Century: Innovation or Tradition." *ActaAArtHist* 15: 93–108.
- . 1994. *Tradition in Late Antique Sculpture: Conservation, Modernization, Production*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Hansen, M. F. 2003. *The Eloquence of Appropriation: Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Hansen, S. L. 1997. "The Embellishment of Late Antique *Domus* in Ostia and Rome." In *Patrons and Pavements in Late Antiquity*, 111–24. Edited by S. Isager and B. Poulsen. Odense: Odense University Press.
- Harris, W., and J. Arce (eds.). 1999. *The Transformation of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity* (JRA Supplement Series 33). Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Heather, P. 2005. *The Fall of the Roman Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hedrick, C. 2000. *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity*. Austin: The University of Texas Press.
- Heil, M. 2006. "'Soldatenkaiser' als Epochenbegriff." In *Deleto paene imperio Romano: Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit*, 411–28. Edited by K.-P. Johné, T. Gerhardt, and U. Hartmann. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Heilman, S. 2006. "The Young and the Restless." *New York Times*, April 9, 2006.
- Heinzelmann, M. 2002. "Ostia, Regionem III und IV: Untersuchungen in den unausgegraben Bereichen des Stadtgebietes (Vorbericht zur vierten Grabungskampagne 2001)." *RM* 109: 225–42.
- . 2001a. "Ostia, Regio III: Untersuchungen in den unausgegraben Bereichen des Stadtgebietes (Vorbericht zur dritten Grabungskampagne 2000)." *RM* 108: 313–28.
- . 2001b. "Les nécropoles d'Ostie: topographie, développement, architecture, structure sociale." In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 373–84. Edited by Jean-Paul Descoeudres. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire.

- . 2000. *Die Nekropolen von Ostia: Untersuchungen zu den Gräberstrassen vor der Porta Romana und an der Via Laurentina*. Munich: Verlag Dr. Friedrich Pfeil.
- . 1998. "Beobachtungen zur suburbanen Topographie Ostias: Ein orthogonales Strassensystem im Bereich der Pianabella." *RM* 105: 175–225.
- Heinzelmann, M., F. A. Bauer, and A. Martin. 2000. "Ostia: Ein urbanistisches Forschungsprojekt in den unausgegraben Bereichen des Stadtgebiets (Vorbericht zur zweiten Grabungskampagne 1999)." *RM* 107: 373–415.
- Heinzelmann, M., H. Becker, K. Eder, and M. Stephani. 1997. "Vordericht zu einer geophysikalischen Prospektionskampagne in Ostia Antica." *RM* 104: 537–48.
- Heinzelmann, M., and A. Martin. 2002. "River Port, *Navalia* and Harbor Temple at Ostia: New Results of a DAI-AAR Project." *JRA* 15: 5–19.
- Hekster, O., G. de Kleijn, and D. Slootjes (eds.). 2007. *Crises and the Roman Empire*. Leiden: Brill.
- Heres, T. L. 1982–83. *Paries: A Proposal for a Dating System of Late Antique Masonry Structures in Rome and Ostia A.D. 235–600*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- . 1980. "Alcuni appunti sulla 'basilica cristiana' (III.1.4) di Ostia Antica." *Meded* 17: 87–99.
- . 1979. "La storia edilizia delle Terme di Nettuno (III.4.2) ad Ostia: lo sviluppo nei secoli IV–V." *Meded* 41: 35–42.
- . 1978. "Una ricerca sulla storia edilizia delle Terme di Nettuno ad Ostia Antica (II.4.2) nel periodo post-adrianeo." *Meded* 40: 93–112.
- Hermansen, G. 1982. *Ostia: Aspects of Roman City Life*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.
- Herrin, J. 2007. *Byzantium: The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Herz, P. 1988. *Studien zur römischen Wirtschaftsgesetzgebung: Die Lebensmittelversorgung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Hetland, L. 2007. "Dating the Pantheon." *JRA* 20: 95–112.
- Hilali, A. 2007. "La crise de 238 en Afrique et ses impacts sur l'empire romain." In *Crises and the Roman Empire*, 57–65. Edited by O. Hekster, G. de Kleijn, and D. Slootjes. Leiden: Brill.
- Hillner, J. 2007. "Families, Patronage, and the Titular Churches of Rome, c.300–c.600." In *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900*, 225–61. Edited by K. Cooper and J. Hillner. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2003. "Domus, Family and Inheritance: The Senatorial Family House in Late Antiquity." *JRS* 93: 129–45.
- Hirschfeld, Y. 1999. "Habitat." In *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, 258–72. Edited by G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Hodder, I. 2003. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Third edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1991. "Postprocessual Archaeology and the Current Debate." In *Processual and Postprocessual Archaeologies: Multiple Ways of Knowing the Past*, 30–41. Edited by R. Preucel. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.
- . 1976. *Spatial Analysis in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holtorf, C., and H. Williams. 2006. "Landscapes and Memories." In *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, 235–54. Edited by D. Hicks and M. Beaudry. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopkins, J. N. 2010. "The Topographical Transformation of Archaic Rome: A New Interpretation of Architecture and Geography in the Early City." Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin.
- Humphries, M. 2003. "Roman Senators and Absent Emperors in Late Antiquity." *ActaAArtHist* 17: 27–46.
- Huyssen, A. 2003. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Ingold, T. 1993. "The Temporality of Landscape." *World Archaeology* 25: 152–74.
- Insoll, T. 2004. *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion*. London: Routledge.
- Jacobs, I. 2010. "Production to Destruction? Pagan and Mythological Statuary in Asia Minor." *AJA* 114: 267–303.
- Johne, K.-P., T. Gerhardt, and U. Hartmann (eds.). 2006. *Deleto paene imperio Romano: Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Johnson, M. 2009. *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2006. "Architecture of Empire." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, 278–97. Edited by N. Lenski. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, A. H. M. 1966. *The Decline of the Ancient World*. London: Longmans.
- . 1964. *The Later Roman Empire, 282–602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Kahlos, 2007. *Debate and Dialogue: Christian and Pagan Cultures, c.360–430*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Kaiser, A. 2011. *Roman Urban Street Networks*. New York: Routledge.
- Kalas, G. 2010. "Writing and Restoration in Rome: Inscriptions, Statues and the Late Antique Preservation of Buildings." In *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400–1500*, 21–43. Edited by C. Goodson, A. Lester, and C. Symes. Burlington: Ashgate.
- Kaldellis, A. 2009. *The Christian Parthenon: Classicism and Pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Karp, I. 1992. "On Civil Society and Social Identity." In *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, 19–33. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Karp, I., C. M. Kreamer, and S. Lavine (eds.). 1992. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Karp, I., and S. Lavine (eds.). 1991. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Keay, S., M. Millett, L. Paroli, and K. Strutt (eds.). 2005. *Portus: An Archaeological Survey of the Port of Imperial Rome*. London: British School at Rome.
- Kettenhofen, E. 1983. "The Persian Campaign of Gordian III and the Inscription of Shapur I at the *Ka'be-ye Kartost*." In *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, 151–71. Edited by S. Mitchell and J. A. Arvites. Oxford: BAR International Series.
- Kiely, M., O.S.B. 2004. "The Inner Courtyard: The Heart of Cimitile/Nola." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12: 443–79.
- Kinney, D. 1997. "*Spolia*, *Damnatio* and *Renovatio Memoriae*." *MAAR* 42: 117–48.
- . 1995. "Rape of Restitution of the Past? Interpreting *Spolia*." In *The Art of Interpreting*, 52–67. Edited by S. Scott. University Park: Penn State University Press.
- Klauser, T. 1939–1942. "Die Inschrift der neugefundenen altchristliche Bauanlage in Ostia." *RömQ Schr* 47: 25–30.
- Kleiner, D. 1992. *Roman Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Knust, J., and Z. Várhelyi (eds.). 2011. *Ancient Mediterranean Sacrifice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kockel, V., and S. Ortisi. 2000. "Ostia. Sogenanntes Macellum: Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen der Universität Augsburg 1997/98." *RM* 107: 351–64.
- Krauthheimer, R. 2000. *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308*. First reprint with a new foreword. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 1983. *Three Christian Capitals*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1980–82. "Intorno alla fondazione di San Paolo fuori le mura." *Rend-PontAcc* 53–54: 207–20.
- Kreamer, C. M. 1992. "Defining Communities through Exhibiting and Collecting." In *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, 367–81. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Kristian-Graham, C. 2001. "A Sense of Place at Chichen Itza." In *Landscape and Power in Ancient Mesoamerica*, 317–70. Edited by R. Koontz, K. Reese-Taylor, and A. Headrick. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Kuefler, M. 2001. *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kulikowski, M. 2004. *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Laeuchli, S. (ed.). 1967. *Mithraism in Ostia: Mystery Religion and Christianity in the Ancient Port of Rome*. Evanston: Northwestern University.
- Laird, M. 2000. "Reconsidering the So-Called Sede degli Augustali at Ostia." *MAAR* 45: 41–84.
- Lampe, P. 2003. *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries*. Translated by M. Steinhauser. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Lancellotti, M. G. 2002. *Attis between Myth and History: King, Priest and God*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Lanciani, R. 1888. "Ostia: relazione del prof. R. Lanciani." *NSc* 737–45.
- Lançon, B. 2000. *Rome in Late Antiquity: Everyday Life and Urban Change, AD 312–609*. Translated by A. Nevill. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Latham, J. 2012. "'Fabulous Clap-Trap': Roman Masculinity, the Cult of Magna Mater, and Literary Constructions of the *Galli* at Rome from the Late Republic to Late Antiquity." *Journal of Religion* 92: 84–122.
- . 2009. "The Making of a Papal Rome: Gregory I the *Letania Septiformis*." In *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, 293–301. Edited by A. Cain and N. Lenski. Burlington: Ashgate.
- . 2007. "The Ritual Construction of Rome: Processions, Subjectivities, and the City from the Late Republic to Late Antiquity." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Laubry, N., and G. Poccardi. 2009. "Une dédicace inédite à l'empereur Probus provenant des thermes de la Porta Marina à Ostie." *ArchCl* 60: 275–305.
- Lavan, L. 2006. "Political Life in Late Antiquity: A Bibliographic Essay." In *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, 3–40. Edited by W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge, and C. Machado. Leiden: Brill.
- . (ed.). 2001. *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism* (JRA Supplementary Series 42). Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Lavan, L., and A. Gering. 2010. *Kent-Berlin Ostia Excavations*. <http://lateantiqueostia.wordpress.com/about>. June 12, 2010.
- Lavan, L., and M. Mulryan (eds.). 2011. *The Archaeology of Late Antique "Paganism"*. Leiden: Brill.
- Le Goff, J. 1992. *History and Memory*. Translated by S. Rendall and E. Claman. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lenski, N. (ed.). 2006. *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lenzi, P. 1998. "'Sita in loco qui vocatur calcaria': attività di spoliazione e forni da calca à Ostia." *Archeologia Medievale* 25: 247–63.
- Leon, H. 1960. *The Jews of Ancient Rome*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America.
- Lepelley, C. 1994. "Le musée des statues divines: la volonté de sauvegarder le patrimoine artistique païen à l'époque théodosienne." *Cahiers Archéologiques* 42: 5–15.

- . 1992. "The Survival and Fall of the Classical City in Late Roman North Africa." In *The City in Late Antiquity*, 50–76. Edited by J. Rich. London: Routledge.
- Levine, L. 2000. *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Liebeschuetz, W. 2001. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 1992. "The End of the Ancient City." In *The City in Late Antiquity*, 1–49. Edited by J. Rich. London: Routledge.
- . 1972. *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Liedtke, C. 2001. "Le décor des pièces secondaires à Ostia." In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 325–33. Edited by Jean-Paul Descoeudres. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire.
- Lieu, J. 2004. *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Greco-Roman World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lim, R. 1999. "Christian Triumph and Controversy." In *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, 196–218. Edited by G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lincoln, B. 1982. "Mithra(s) as Sun and Savior." In *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'impero romano*, 505–26. Edited by U. Bianchi and M. Vermaseren. Leiden: Brill.
- Lizzi Testa, R. 2010. "Insula ipsa Libanus Almae Veneris nuncupatur: Culti, celebrazioni, sacerdoti pagani a Roma, tra IV e VI secolo." In *Istituzioni, carismi ed esercizio del potere (IV–VI secolo d.C.)*, 273–303. Edited by G. Bonamente and R. Lizzi Testa. Bari: Edipuglia.
- . 2007. "Christian Emperor, Vestal Virgins, and Priestly Colleges: Reconsidering the End of Roman Paganism." *AnTard* 15: 251–62.
- . 2004. *Senatori, Popolo, Papi: Il governo di Roma al tempo dei Valentini-ani*. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Llewellyn, P. 1976. "The Roman Church, Priests, and Senators during the Laurentian Schism." *Church History* 45: 417–27.
- Lo Cascio, E. 2004. "Considerazioni sulla datazione di CIL XIV 375 e sulla cronologia di Gamala senior." In *Ostia, Cicero, Gamala, Feasts and the Economy: Papers in Memory of John H. D'Arms* (JRA Supplement 57), 83–88. Edited by A. Gallina Zevi and J. H. Humphrey. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- . 2002. "Ancora sugli 'Ostia's Services to Rome': collegi e corporazioni annonarie a Ostia." *MÉFRA* 114: 87–109.
- L'Orange, H. P. 1965. *Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lowenthal, D. 1975. "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory." *Geographical Review* 65: 1–36.

- Lynch, K. 1960. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Maas, M. (ed.). 2000. *Readings in Late Antiquity: A Sourcebook*. London: Routledge.
- . 1992. *John Lydus and the Roman Past: Antiquarianism and Politics in the Age of Justinian*. London: Routledge.
- MacCormack, S. 1981. *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- MacDonald, W. 1998. "Sorting Out Roman Architecture." *AJA* 102: 614–17.
- . 1982. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire: An Introductory Study*. Second edition. Binghamton, NY: Vail-Ballou Press.
- . 1976. *The Pantheon: Design, Meaning and Progeny*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Machado, C. 2009. "Religion as Antiquarianism: Pagan Dedications in Late Antique Rome." In *Dediche sacre nel mondo greco-romano*, 331–54. Edited by J. Bodel and M. Kajava. Rome: Institutum romanum finlandiae.
- . 2006. "Building the Past: Monuments and Memory in the Forum Romanum." In *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, 157–92. Edited by W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge, and C. Machado. Leiden: Brill.
- Mackie, G. 1990. "New Light on the So-Called Saint Lawrence Panel at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna." *Gesta* 29: 54–60.
- MacMullen, R. 2009. *The Second Church. Popular Christianity A.D. 200–400*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- . 2000. *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 1984. *Christianizing the Roman Empire, A.D. 100–400*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 1966. *Enemies of the Roman Order: Treason, Unrest and Alienation in the Empire*.
- Maier, H. 2005. "Heresy, Households and the Disciplining of Diversity." In *A People's History of Christianity: Late Ancient Christianity*, 213–33. Edited by V. Burrus. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Manacorda, D. 2001. *Crypta Balbi: Archeologia e storia di un paesaggio urbano*. Rome: Electa.
- Manodori, A. (ed.). 2000. *Mura e vie consolari* (Roma Archeologica Interario 9). Rome: Elio de Rosa.
- Mar, R. 1992. "El Serapeum ostiense y la urbanística de la ciudad: una aproximación a su estudio." *Bollettino di Archeologia* 13–15: 31–51.
- Marasco, G. (ed.). 2003. *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity: Fourth to Sixth Century A.D.* Leiden: Brill.
- Maricq, A. 1958. "Res Gestae Divi Saporis." *Syria* 35: 295–360.
- Marini Recchia, F., D. Pacchiani, and F. Panico. 2002. "Scavi ad Ostia nell'ottocento: dalle escavazioni pontificie alle indagini di Rodolfo Lanciani." *ActaInstRomFin* 27: 247–70.

- . 2001. “Les fouilles pontificales du XIX^e siècle jusqu’à Rodolfo Lanciani.” In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 48–55. Edited by J.-P. Descoeudres. Geneva: Musées d’art et d’histoire.
- Marinone, M. 1973. “La decorazione pittorica della catacomba di Albano.” *RLA* 20: 103–25.
- Markus, R. 1997. *Gregory the Great and His World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1990. *The End of Ancient Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marlowe, E. 2006. “Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscape.” *Art Bulletin* 88: 223–42.
- Maroni, F. 1786. *Commentarius de ecclesiis et episcopis Ostiensibus et Veliternis*. Rome: S. Michaelis ad Ripam.
- Martin, A. 2008. “Imports at Ostia in the Imperial Period and Late Antiquity: Evidence from the DAI-AAR Excavations.” In *The Maritime World of Ancient Rome*, 105–18. Edited by R. Hohlfelder. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- . 1999. “The Rises in Level at Ostia, Regio I, *insula* x, 3.” *Meded* 58: 74–76.
- . 1996. “Un saggio sulle mura del castrum di Ostia (1.10.3).” In *‘Roman Ostia’ Revisited: Archaeological and Historical Papers in Memory of Russell Meiggs*, 19–36. Edited by A. Claridge and A. Gallina Zevi. London: British School at Rome.
- Martin, A., M. Heinzelmann, E. De Sena, and M. G. Granino. 2002. “The Urbanistic Project on the Previously Unexcavated Areas of Ostia (DAI-AAR 1996–2001).” *MAAR* 47: 259–304.
- Martin, D. 2004. *Inventing Superstition: From Hippocrates to the Christians*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Mathews, T. 2003. *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*. Revised and expanded edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mathisen, R. 1993. “For Specialists Only: The Reception of Augustine and His Teachings in Fifth-Century Gaul.” In *Augustine: Presbyter Factus Sum*, 29–41. Edited by J. Lienhard, E. Muller, and R. Teske. New York: P. Lang.
- Matthews, J. 2000. *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 1989. *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*. London: Duckworth.
- . 1975. *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court: A.D. 364–425*. Second edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1967. “Continuity in a Roman Family: The Rufii Festi of Volsinii.” *Historia* 16: 484–509.
- Matthiae, G. 1967. *Mosaici medioevali della chiese di Roma*. Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello stato.

- Mattingly, D. 2004. "Being Roman: Expressing Identity in a Provincial Setting." *JRA* 17: 5–25.
- Mazzoleni, D. 2001. "Épigraphie chrétienne: notes et observations." In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 283–88. Edited by Jean-Paul Descoeudres. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire.
- McCready, C. 1989. *Signs of Sanctity: Miracles in the Thought of Gregory the Great*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
- McLynn, N. 2012. "Damasus of Rome: A Fourth-Century Pope in Context." In *Rom und Mailand in der Spätantike: Repräsentationen städtischer Räume in Literatur, Architektur und Kunst*, 305–26. Edited by T. Fuhrer. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- . 1996. "The Fourth-Century *Taurobolium*." *Phoenix* 50: 312–30.
- . 1994. *Ambrose of Milan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Meier, H.-R. 1996. "Alte Tempel, neue Kulte: Zum Schutz obsoleter Sakralbauten in der Spätantike und zur Adaption alter Bauten an der christlichen Kult." In *Innovation in der Spätantike*, 363–76. Edited by B. Brenk. Wiesbaden: Michaelides.
- Meiggs, R. 1973. *Roman Ostia*. Second edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Meneghini, R. 2003. "La trasformazione dello spazio pubblico a Roma tra tarda antichità e alto medioevo." *MÉFRA* 115: 1049–62.
- Meneghini, R., and R. Santangeli Valenzani. 2007. *I fori imperiali: Gli scavi del Comune di Roma (1991–2007)*. Rome: Viviani Editore.
- Merrills, A., and R. Miles. 2010. *The Vandals*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Meyer, M. (ed). 1994. *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco.
- Meyers, E. 2002. "Review of The Synagogue of Ostia and the Jews of Rome: Interdisciplinary Studies, edited by B. Olsson, D. Mitternacht, and O. Brandt." *BASOR* 328: 97–99.
- Miles, M. 1993. "Santa Maria Maggiore's Fifth-Century Mosaics: Triumphal Christianity and the Jews." *HTR* 86: 155–75.
- Miles, R. 1999. "Introduction: Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity." In *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, 1–15. Edited by R. Miles. London: Routledge.
- Mols, S. 2007. "The Urban Context of the Serapeum at Ostia." *BABesch* 82: 227–32.
- . 2001. "La peinture à Ostia." In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 340–45. Edited by Jean-Paul Descoeudres. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire.
- Moorhead, S., and D. Stuttard. 2010. *A.D. 410: The Year That Shook Rome*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Morey, C. R. 1959. *The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library with Additional Catalogue of the Other Gold-Glass Collections*. Edited by G. Ferrari. Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana.

- Morony, M. 2003. "Magic and Society in Late Sassanian Iraq." In *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, 83–107. Edited by S. Noegel et al. University Park: Pennsylvania State University.
- Muntasser, N. 2003. "The Late Antique Domus in Ostia: Patterns of Diversity and Transformation." Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin.
- Murphy-O'Connor, J. 1998. *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nasrallah, L. 2010. *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2005. "Empire and Apocalypse in Thessaloniki: Interpreting the Early Christian Rotunda." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 13: 465–508.
- Nelson, R. 2003. "Tourists, Terrorists and Metaphysical Theater at Hagia Sophia." In *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, 59–81. Edited by R. S. Nelson and M. Olin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nelson, R., and M. Olin (eds.). 2003. *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Newby, Z. 2002. "Greek Athletics as Roman Spectacle: The Mosaics from Ostia and Rome." *PBSR* 70: 177–203.
- Nicolai, V. F. 1994. "Euergetismo ecclesiastico e laico nelle iscrizioni paleocristiane del Lazio." In *Historiam pictura refert*. Edited by A. Recio Viganzones, 237–52. Rome: Pontificio istituto di archaeologia cristiana.
- Noble, T. F. X. 2003. "The Roman Elite from Constantine to Charlemagne." *ActaAArtHist* 17: 13–26.
- Nogara, B. 1907. *Le Nozze Aldobrandine: I paesaggi con scene dell'Odissea e le altre pitture murali antiche conservate nella Biblioteca Vaticana e nei musei pontifici*. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli.
- Nongbri, B. 2008. "Dislodging 'Embedded' Religion: A Brief Note on a Scholarly Trope." *Numen* 55: 440–60.
- Nora, P. 1996. *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*. Three volumes. Translated by L. Kritzman. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 1989. "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire." Translated by M. Roudebush. *Representations* 26: 7–24.
- North, J. 2005. "Pagans, Polytheists, and the Pendulum." In *The Spread of Christianity in the First Four Centuries*, 125–44. Edited by W. Harris. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2000. *Roman Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Novak, D. M. 1980. "Anicianae Domus Culmen, Nobilitatis Culmen." *Klio* 62: 473–94.
- Noy, D. 2005. "Rabbi Aqibi Goes to Rome: A Jewish Pilgrimage in Reverse?" In *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity*, 373–86. Edited by J. Elsner and I. Rutherford. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nucci, R. G. 2002. "Decorazione frontonale del tempio di Roma e di Augusto di Ostia." *ActaInstRomFin* 27: 229–46.

- O'Donnell, J. J. 2009. *The Ruin of the Roman Empire*. New York: Ecco.
- . 2006. *The Confessions of Augustine: An Electronic Edition*. <http://www.stoa.org/hippo>. November 15, 2006.
- . 2005. *Augustine: A New Biography*. New York: HarperCollins.
- . 1979a. *Cassiodorus*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1979b. "The Demise of Paganism." *Traditio* 35: 45–88.
- . 1977. "Paganus." *Classical Folia* 31: 163–69.
- Oenbrick, W. 2006. "Shahba/Philippopolis: Die Transformation einer safaitisch-arabischen Siedlung in eine römische Colonia." In *Deleto paene imperio Romano: Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit*, 243–70. Edited by K.-P. John, T. Gerhardt, and U. Hartmann. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Olick, J., and J. Robbins. 1998. "From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices." *Annual Review of Sociology* 14: 105–40.
- Orlandi, S. 2006. "Le iscrizioni del Colosseo come base documentaria per lo studio del senato tardoantico." In *Le trasformazioni delle élites in età tardoantica*, 311–24. Edited by R. Lizzi Testa. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- . 1997. "Dedica votiva posta dal senatore Anicius Auchinius Bassus e dalla moglie Turrenia Honorata assieme con i figli." In *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano, Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis* 2, 271–72. Edited by I. Di Stefano Manzella. Rome: Edizioni Quasar.
- Orlin, E. 2002. "Foreign Cults in Republican Rome: Rethinking the Pomerian Rule." *MAAR* 47: 1–18.
- . 1997. *Temples, Religion, and Politics in the Roman Republic*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Orr, D. 1978. "Roman Domestic Religion: The Evidence of the Household Shrines." *ANRW* 2.16.2.
- Packer, J. 1971. "The Insulae of Imperial Ostia." *MAAR* 31: 1–217.
- Palma, B. 1978–1980. "Un gruppo ostiense dei Musei Vaticani: le fatiche di Eracle." *RendPontAcc* 51–52: 137–56.
- Panciera, S. 2006. *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti: scritti vari editi e inediti (1956–2005) con note complementari e indici*. Three volumes. Roma: Edizioni Quasar.
- Pannuzi, S. 2008. "Il suburbio ostiense fra tardoantico ed altomedioevo: Recenti indagini archeologiche e prime note sull'arredo liturgico scultoreo." *Temporis Signa* 3: 253–76.
- . 2006a. "Recenti indagini archeologiche presso la chiesa di S. Aurea nel borgo di Ostia Antica." In *IV Congresso nazionale di archeologia medievale (26–30 settembre 2006)*, 369–77. Edited by R. Francovich and M. Valenti. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- . 2006b. "La mura medievale del borgo di Ostia Antica: ipotesi ricostruttive delle fasi edilizie." In *IV Congresso nazionale di archeologia medievale (26–30 settembre 2006)*, 601–06. Edited by R. Francovich and M. Valenti. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio.

- Paroli, L. 1999. *Scavi di Ostia 12: La basilica pianabella*. Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello stato.
- . 1996. “Ostia alla fine del mondo antico: nuovi dati dallo scavo di un magazzino doliare.” In *‘Roman Ostia’ Revisited: Archaeological and Historical Papers in Memory of Russell Meiggs*, 249–64. Edited by A. Claridge and A. Gallina Zevi. London: British School at Rome.
- . 1993. “Ostia nella tarda antichità e nell’alto medioevo.” In *La storia economica di Roma nell’alto medioevo alla luce dei recenti scavi archeologici*, 153–75. Florence: Edizioni all’Insegna del Giglio.
- Paschetto, L. 1912. *Ostia colonia romana: storia e monumenti*. Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.
- Pavolini, C. 2006. *Ostia*. Fourth edition. Bari: Editori Laterza.
- . 1996. “Mercato ostiense e mercato romano: alcuni contesti ceramici a confronto.” In *‘Roman Ostia’ Revisited: Archaeological and Historical Papers in Memory of Russell Meiggs*, 223–42. Edited by A. Claridge and A. Gallina Zevi. London: British School at Rome.
- . 1986a. *La vita quotidiana a Ostia*. Rome: Laterza.
- . 1986b. “L’edilizia commerciale e l’edilizia abitativa nel contesto di Ostia tardoantica.” In *Società e impero tardoantico II: Roma (politica, economia, paesaggio urbano)*, 239–83. Edited by A. Giardina. Bari: Editori Laterza.
- . 1985. “Trasformazioni sociali, urbanistiche e architettoniche nella Ostia tardo-antica.” *Metamorfosi* 1: 15–22.
- . 1980. “Saggi di scavo lungo la via Severiana ad Ostia.” *Archeologia laziale* 3: 113–22.
- Pellegrino, A. 1986. “Il culto di Vulcano ad Ostia: nuove testimonianze.” *Miscellanea greca e romana* 10: 289–301.
- Pensabene, P. 1984. *Tempio di Saturno: Architettura e decorazione* (Lavori e Studi di Archeologia 5). Rome: De Luca.
- . 1973. *Scavi di Ostia 7: I capitelli*. Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello stato.
- Pergola, P. 1990. “Lo scavo di S. Ercolano ad Ostia Antica: relazione preliminare delle campagne 1988 e 1989.” *Archeologia laziale* 10: 173–76.
- Perin, C. 1992. “The Communicative Circle: Museums as Communities.” In *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, 182–220. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Perrier, B. 2007. “Les trois edifices successifs: Schola du Trajan, Domus a Peri-style, Domus aux Bucranes.” In *Villas, maisons, sanctuaires et tombeaux tardo-républicain: découvertes et relectures récentes*, 15–32. Edited by B. Perrier and A. G. Zevi. Rome: Quasar.
- . 2003. “La Maison aux Bucranes.” *Archeologia* 406: 10–16.
- Pietri, C. 1991. “La Rome de Grégoire.” In *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo (9–12 maggio 1990)*, 9–32. Edited by Vittorino Grossi. Rome: Augustinianum.
- Pilsworth, C. 2000. “Dating the Gesta Martyrum: A Manuscript-Based Approach.” *Early Medieval Europe* 9: 309–24.

- Poccardi, G. 2006a. "Les bains de la ville d'Ostie à l'époque tardo-antique (fin III^e–début VI^e siècle)." In *Les cités de l'Italie tardo-antique (IV^e–VI^e siècle): institutions, économie, société, culture et religion*, 167–86. Edited by M. Ghilardi, C. Goddard, and P. Porena. Rome: École française de Rome.
- . 2006b. *Les édifices de bains de la ville d'Ostie à l'époque impériale (milieu du I^{er} siècle–début du VI^e siècle): Études typologiques, techniques et urbaines*. Ph.D. diss., Université Panthéon–Sorbonne, Paris.
- . 2001. "Thermes et bains de l'Ostie antique." In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 161–71. Edited by Jean-Paul Descoeudres. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire.
- Potter, D. 2004. *The Roman Empire at Bay, AD 180–395*. London: Routledge.
- . 1990. *Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire: A Historical Commentary on the Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Poulsen, B. 1992. "Cult, Myth and Politics." In *The Temple of Castor and Pollux: The Pre-Augustan Temple Phases with Related Decorative Elements*, 46–53. Edited by B. Poulsen and I. Nielsen. Rome: De Luca.
- Presicce, C. 2006. "Costantino come Giove: Proposta di ricostruzione grafica del colosso acrolitico dalla Basilica Costantiniana." *BullCom* 107: 127–61.
- Price, S. 2000. "Religions of Rome." In *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City*, 290–305. Edited by J. Coulston and H. Dodge. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology.
- . 1984. *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Priestler, K. 2004. *Geschichte der Langobarden: Gesellschaft, Kultur, Alltagsleben*. Stuttgart: Theiss.
- Pruecel, R. 1995. "The Postprocessual Condition." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 3: 147–75.
- Purcell, N. 1996. "The Ports of Rome: Evolution of a 'Façade Maritime.'" In *'Roman Ostia' Revisited: Archaeological and Historical Papers in Memory of Russell Meiggs*, 267–79. Edited by A. Claridge and A. Gallina Zevi. London: British School at Rome.
- Rebillard, E. 2009. *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Ricci, M. 2004. "Il mitreo della Crypta Balbi a Roma (note preliminari)." In *Roman Mithraism: The Evidence of the Small Finds*, 157–65. Edited by M. Martens and G. De Boe. Brussels: Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium.
- Rickman, G. 1980. *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1971. *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ridley, R. 2005. "Quaestiones Capitolinae, Unbridgeable Gaps: The Capitoline Temple at Rome." *BullCom* 106: 83–104.

- Rieger, A.-K. 2007. "Lokale Tradition versus überregionale Einheit: Der Kult der Magna Mater." *Mediterranea* 4: 89–120.
- . 2004. *Heiligtümer in Ostia* (Studien zur antiken Stadt 8). Munich: Verlag Dr. Friedrich Pfeil.
- . 2001. "Les sanctuaires publics à Ostie de la République jusqu'au Haut Empire." In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 247–61. Edited by Jean-Paul Descœudres. Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire.
- Rives, J. 2007. *Religion in the Roman Empire*. Malden: Blackwell.
- . 1999. "The Decree of Decius and the Religion of Empire." *JRS* 89: 135–54.
- Roberts, M. 1993. *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Rohrbacher, D. 2002. *The Historians of Late Antiquity*. London: Routledge.
- Roller, L. E. 1999. *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Romano, G. 2005. "I mitrei di Ostia." In *Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica* 10 (February): 30–39.
- Romeo, I. 1999. "Tra Massenzio e Costantino: il ruolo delle officine urbane ed ostiensi nella creazione del ritratto costantiniano." *BullCom* 100: 197–228.
- Roscoe, W. 1996. "Priests of the Goddess: Gender Transgression in Ancient Religion." *History of Religions* 35: 195–230.
- Rosenblum, J. 2010. *Food and Identity in Early Rabbinic Judaism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rostovtzeff, M. 1998. *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. Two volumes. Second and revised edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Roth, R. 2007. "Introduction: Roman Culture between Homogeneity and Integration." In *Roman by Integration: Dimensions of Group Identity in Material Culture and Text* (JRA Supplement 66), 7–10. Edited by R. Roth and J. Keller. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Roueché, C., and J. M. Reynolds. 1989. *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
- Ruffing, K. 2006. "Wirtschaftliche Prosperität im 3. Jahrhundert: Die Städte Ägyptens als Paradigma?" In *Deleto paene imperio Romano: Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit*, 223–42. Edited by K.-P. John, T. Gerhardt, and U. Hartmann. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Runesson, A. 2001. "The Synagogue at Ancient Ostia: The Building and Its History from the First to the Fifth Century." In *The Synagogue of Ostia and the Jews of Rome: Interdisciplinary Studies*, 29–100. Edited by B. Olsson, D. Mitternacht, and O. Brandt. Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Rüpke, J. 2007. *Religion of the Romans*. Malden: Polity Press.
- Rutgers, L. V. 2009. *Making Myths: Jews in Early Christian Identity Formation*. Leuven: Peeters.

- . 1992. "Archaeological Evidence for the Interaction of Jews and Non-Jews in Late Antiquity." *AJA* 96: 101–18.
- Saastamoinen, A. 2010. *The Phraseology of Latin Building Inscriptions in Roman North Africa*. Helsinki: Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters.
- Sagui, L. 2004. "Il mitreo della Crypta Balbi a Roma e i suoi reperti." In *Roman Mithraism: The Evidence of the Small Finds*, 167–78. Edited by M. Martens and G. De Boe. Brussels: Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium.
- Said, E. 2000. "Invention, Memory, and Place." *Critical Inquiry* 26: 175–92.
- Saint-Laurent, J.-N. 2006. "Ahoudemmeh and the Miaphysites of Northern Iraq." Paper read at the 2006 Yale University Conference on Interreligious Dialogue in Late Antiquity, October 22–23, New Haven, CT.
- Salzman, M. 2010. "Ambrose and the Usurpation of Arbogastes and Eugenius: Reflections on Pagan-Christian Conflict Narratives." *J ECS* 18: 191–223.
- . 2002. *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- . 1990. *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1984. "The Representation of April in the Calendar of 354." *AJA* 88: 43–50.
- Sandwell, I. 2007. *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity: Greeks, Jews and Christians in Antioch*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Saradi-Mendelovici, H. 1990. "Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries." *DOP* 44: 47–61.
- Sauer, E. (ed.). 2004. *Archaeology and Ancient History: Breaking Down the Boundaries*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Schachner, L. 2006. "Social Life in Late Antiquity: A Bibliographic Essay." In *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, 41–93. Edited by W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge, and C. Machado. Leiden: Brill.
- Schama, S. 1995. *Landscape and Memory*. New York: Knopf.
- Schott, J. 2008. *Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Schwartz, S. 2003. "Some Types of Jewish-Christian Interaction in Late Antiquity." In *Jewish Culture and Society Under the Christian Roman Empire*, 197–210. Edited by R. Kalmin and S. Schwartz. Leuven: Peeters.
- . 2001. *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Seeck, O. 1919. *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für der Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler.
- Sessa, K. 2012. *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2007. "Domestic Conversions: Households and Bishops in the Late Antique 'Papal Legends.'" In *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early*

- Christian Rome, 300–900*, 79–114. Edited by K. Cooper and J. Hillner. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Scrinari, V. 1988. “Ostia Antica: Il cosiddetto ‘palazzo imperiale,’ decorazioni musive.” *Archeologia laziale* 9: 185–90.
- Scrinari, V., and M. Ricciardi. 1996. *La civiltà dell’acqua in Ostia Antica*. Rome: Fratelli Palombi.
- Segal, A. 1986. *Rebecca’s Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Shanks, M., and C. Tilley. 1987. *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shanzer, D. 1994. “The Date and Identity of the Centoist Proba.” *RecAug* 27: 75–96.
- Sirks, B. 1991. *Food for Rome: The Legal Structure of the Transportation and Processing of Supplies for the Imperial Distributions in Rome and Constantinople*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.
- Sivan, H. 1993. “Anician Women, the Cento of Proba, and Aristocratic Conversion.” *Vigiliae Christianae* 47: 140–57.
- Smith, A. 2003. *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Smith, R. R. R. 1999. “Late Antique Portraits in a Public Context: Honorific Statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, A.D. 300–600.” *JRS* 89: 155–89.
- Snyder, H. G. 2005. “Pictures in Dialogue: A Viewer-Centered Approach to the Hypogeum on Via Dino Compagni.” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 13: 349–86.
- Sogno, C. 2006. *Q. Aurelius Symmachus: A Political Biography*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Spier, J. 2003. “A Lost Consular Diptych of Anicius Auchenius Bassus (A.D. 408) on the Mould for an ARS Plaque.” *JRA* 16: 351–54.
- Spurza, J. 2011. “Architectural Reuse and the Afterlife of Mosaics at Later Ostia: Excavation of the Palazzo Imperiale.” Paper read at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, January 7–9, San Antonio, TX.
- . 2002. “The Emperors at Ostia and Portus: Imperial Visits and Accommodation.” *ActaInstRomFin* 27: 123–34.
- . 1999a. “The Building History of the Palazzo Imperiale at Ostia: Evolution of an *Insula* on the Banks of the Tiber River.” *Meded* 58: 129–42.
- . 1999b. “A New Study of the Palazzo Imperiale at Ostia.” Ph.D. diss., Princeton University.
- Squarciapino, M. F. 2001. “La synagogue d’Ostie.” In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 272–77. Edited by J.-P. Descoeudres. Geneva: Musées d’art et d’histoire.
- . 1987. “Un nuovo frammento del fregio della basilica di Ostia: la lupa con i gemelli.” In *Studi per L. Breglia*, 119–26. Rome: Libreria dello Stato.

- . 1985–86. “Nuovi mosaici ostiensi.” *RendPontAcc* 58: 87–144.
- . 1979. “Considerazioni su Ostia cristiana.” *StRom* 27: 15–24.
- . 1970. “Plotius Fortunatus, *archisynagogus*.” *Scritti in memoria di Attilio Milano (Rassegna mensile di Israel)* 7–9: 183–91.
- . 1965. “La sinagoga di Ostia: seconda campagna di scavo.” In *Atti del VI Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana*, 229–315. Vatican City: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana.
- . 1963. “Die Synagogue von Ostia nach der Zweiten Ausgrabungskampagne.” *Raggi: Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie* 5: 13–17.
- . 1962. *I culti orientali ad Ostia*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- . 1961–62. “La sinagoga recentemente scoperta ad Ostia.” *RendPontAcc* 34: 119–32.
- . 1959. “Un nuovo santuario della Bona Dea ad Ostia.” *RendPontAcc* 32: 93–95.
- . 1952. “Coppa cristiana da Ostia.” *BdA* 37: 204–10.
- . 1950. “Ancora sui ritratti di Valente.” *BullCom* 73: 97–99.
- Stambaugh, J. 1978. “The Functions of Roman Temples.” *ANRW* 2.16.1: 554–608.
- Stark, R. 1996. *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stern, H. 1981. “Les calendriers romains illustrés.” *ANRW* 2.12.2: 431–75.
- Steuernagel, D. 2004. *Kult und Alltag in römischen Hafenstädten: Soziale Prozesse in archäologischer Perspektive*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- . 2001. “Kult und Community: Sacella in den Insulae von Ostia.” *RM* 108: 41–56.
- Stewart, P. 2003. *Statues in Roman Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1999. “The Destruction of Statues in Late Antiquity.” In *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, 159–89. Edited by R. Miles. London: Routledge.
- Stirling, L. 2008. “Pagan Statuettes in Late Antique Corinth: Sculpture from the Panayia Domus.” *Hesperia* 77: 89–161.
- . 2005. *The Learned Collector: Mythological Statuettes and Classical Taste in Late Antique Gaul*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Stöger, J. 2011. “Rethinking Ostia: A Spatial Enquiry into the Urban Society of Rome’s Imperial Port-Town.” Ph.D. diss., Leiden University.
- Stroumsa, G. 2009. *The End of Sacrifice: Religious Transformations in Late Antiquity*. Translated by S. Emanuel. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1996. “From Anti-Judaism to Antisemitism in Early Christianity.” In *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews*. Edited by O. Limor and G. Stroumsa, 1–26. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.
- Straw, C. 1988. *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Swift, E., and A. Alwis. 2010. "The Role of Late Antique Art in Early Christian Worship: A Reconsideration of the Iconography of the 'Starry Sky' in the 'Mausoleum' of Galla Placidia." *PBSR* 78: 193–217, 352–54.
- Takács, S. 1995. *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Talbert, R. 2010. *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, L. R. 1912. *The Cults of Ostia*. Bryn Mawr: Bryn Mawr College.
- Tengström, E. 1974. *Bread for the People: Studies of the Corn Supply of Rome during the Late Empire*. Stockholm: Åström.
- Testini, P. 1985. "Saggi di scavo presso S. Aurea Ostia." In *Scavi e ricerche degli anni 1976–1979*, 317–21. Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche.
- Thébert, Y. 1987. "Private Life and Domestic Architecture in Roman Africa." In *A History of Private Life: From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, 310–409. Edited by P. Veyne. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.
- Thomas, E., and C. Witschel. 1992. "Constructing Reconstruction: Claim and Reality of Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions from the Latin West." *PBSR* 60: 135–77.
- Thuillier, J.-P. 1996. *Le sport dans la Rome antique*. Paris: Editions France.
- Thylander, H. 1952. *Les inscriptions du port d'Ostia*. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup.
- Tilley, C. 2004. *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology*. Oxford: Berg.
- . 1994. *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*. Oxford: Berg.
- Tione, R. 1999. "Le domus tardoantiche: nuovi elementi per l'interpretazione dell'edilizia abitativa attraverso la lettura stratigrafica degli elevati." *Meded* 58: 191–208.
- Torelli, M. 2000. "Etruscan Religion." In *The Etruscans*, 273–90. Edited by M. Torelli. Milan: Bompiani.
- Torres, M. 2008. "Christian Burial Practices at Ostia Antica: A Case Study of the Pianabella Basilica." Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin.
- Trombley, F. 1993. *Hellenic Religion and Christianization, c. 370–529*. Two volumes. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Trout, D. Forthcoming. "Taking Symmachus Seriously: *Amor Consuetudinis* and the Creed of Heritage."
- . 2005a. "Saints, Identity and the City." In *A People's History of Christianity: Late Ancient Christianity*, 165–87. Edited by V. Burrus. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- . 2005b. "Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome." In *Gender, Asceticism, and Historiography*, 298–315. Edited by D. Martin and P. C. Miller. Durham: Duke University Press.
- . 2005c. "Theodelinda's Rome: *Ampullae*, *Pittacia*, and the Image of the City." *MAAR* 50: 131–50.

- . 1999. *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters and Poems*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1989. "Victoria Redux and the First Year of the Reign of Philip the Arab." *Chiron* 19: 221–33.
- Tucci, P. L. 2005. "Where High Moneta Leads Her Steps Sublime: The 'Tabularium' and the Temple of Juno Moneta." *JRA* 18: 6–33.
- Turner, V. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Vaglieri, D. 1914. *Ostia: cenni storici e guida*. Rome: Ermanno Loescher & Co.
- . 1913a. "Ostia: scavi nella necropoli, in via delle corporazioni, nel teatro, sotto I quattro tempietti, sul decumano; scoperte varie." *NSc* 10: 46–51.
- . 1913b. "Ostia: scavi nella necropoli, scoperta di creta fullonica, case di via delle corporazioni, scavo del teatro e nell'area innanzi ai quattro tempietti." *NSc* 10: 71–81.
- . 1913c. "Ostia: scavi e ricerche nel decumano, in via delle corporazioni, nel portico dietro il teatro, nel teatro, ad ovest di questo, nel piazzale innanzi ai quattro tempietti, nella via ad ovest del piccolo mercato." *NSc* 10: 120–41.
- . 1913d. "Ostia: scavi sul decumano, nel teatro, nell'area dei quattro tempietti, ad ovest della piscina; via tecta." *NSc* 10: 174–84.
- . 1913e. "Ostia: scavi nel teatro, nell'area dei quattro tempietti, sul decumano, nel foro e nell'area di Vulcano; scoperte varie." *NSc* 10: 227–40.
- . 1913f. "Ostia: scavi nella necropoli ostiense, terme, teatro, area dei quattro tempietti, decumano, area del tempio di Vulcano." *NSc* 10: 391–404.
- . 1913g. "Ostia: scavi nel teatro, nell'area dei quattro tempietti, sul decumano, nel foro e nell'area di Vulcano." *NSc* 10: 469–72.
- . 1912a. "Ostia: ricerche nell'area delle tombe; sterro a nord della caserma dei vigili; scoperta di nuove scholae; scavo presso il tempio di Vulcano." *NSc* 9: 273–80.
- . 1912b. "Ostia: ricerche nell'area delle tombe; scavo di una stanza con dipinti in via della Fontana; scoperta di nuove scholae di navicellarii; sterro del piazzale dietro il teatro; ricerche nel sottosuolo dei quattro tempietti; pianta dello scavo presso il piccolo mercato; scoperte varie." *NSc* 9: 433–42.
- . 1910a. "Scoperte di antichità cristiane in Ostia." *NuovB* 16: 57–62.
- . 1910b. "Ostia: scoperta della cinta urbana e di una chiesetta medievale." *NSc* 7: 134–39.
- . 1910c. "Ostia: sterri nell'area delle tombe; sulla via principale e intorno al teatro." *NSc* 7: 93–114.
- . 1909a. "Ostia: nuove scoperte presso le terme e la caserma dei vigili." *NSc* 6: 197–209.
- . 1909b. "Ostia: scavi presso gli avanzi delle 'terme.'" *NSc* 6: 46–58.
- Valeri, C. 2002. "Arredi scultorei dagli edifici termali di Ostia." *ActaInstRomFin* 27: 213–28.

- van Buren, A. W. 1907. "General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America: Formal Incorporation of the Institute, Wednesday, January 2, 3 p.m." *AJA* 11: 55–56.
- van Dalen, J. 1999. "The Late Use of *Opus Reticulatum* in Ostia." *Meded* 50: 236–300.
- Van Dam, R. 2011. *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- van den Hoek, A. 2006. "Peter, Paul and a Consul: Recent Discoveries in African Red Slip Ware." *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 9: 197–246.
- van der Meer, L. 2009. "The Temple on the Piazzale delle Corporazioni in Ostia Antica." *BABesch* 84: 163–70.
- van der Meer, L., N. Stevens, and H. Stoeger. 2005. "Domus Fulminata: The House of the Thunderbolt (III, vii, 3–5)." *BABesch* 80: 91–111.
- Vermaseren, M. J. 1977. *Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- . 1966. *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- . 1948. "A Mithraic Brooch in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford." *AntJ* 28: 177–79.
- Versnel, H. 1991. "Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic–Religion." *Numen* 38: 177–97.
- Veyne, P. 1984. *Writing History: Essays on Epistemology*. Translated by M. Moore-Rinvolucri. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Vidman, L. 1982. *Fasti Ostiensis*. Prague: Československá Akademie Věd.
- Visconti, C. L. 1869. "I monumenti del Metroon Ostiense." *AdI* 41: 208–45.
- . 1868. "I monumenti del Metroon Ostiense." *AdI* 40: 362–413.
- Volbach, W. F. 1976. *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*. Third edition. Mainz: Verlag von Zabern.
- von Aulock, H. 1974. *Die Münzprägung des Gordian III und der Tranquillina in Lykien*. Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth.
- von Gerkan, A. 1939. "Die christliche Anlaghe in Ostia." *RömQ Schr* 47: 15–23.
- von Haehling, R. 1978. *Die Religionszugehörigkeit der hohen Amtsträger des römischen Reiches seit Constantins I. Alleinherrschaft bis zum Ende der theodosianischen Dynastie (324–450 bzw. 455 n. Chr.)*. Bonn: Habelt.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 2005. "Mutatas Formas: The Augustan Transformation of Roman Knowledge." In *Age of Augustus*, 55–84. Edited by K. Galinsky. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walter, U. 2004. *Memoria und res publica: Zur Geschichtskultur im republikanischen Rom*. Munich: Verlag Antike.
- Ward-Perkins, B. 2005. *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1997. "Continuists, Catastrophists, and the Towns of Post-Roman Northern Italy." *PBSR* 65: 157–76.

- . 1984. *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, A.D. 300–850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weitzmann, K. (ed.). 1979. *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Centuries*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- . 1977. *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*. New York: George Braziller.
- Wharton, A. J. 2006. *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2000. “Erasure: Eliminating the Space of Late Ancient Judaism.” In *From Dura to Sepphoris: Studies in Jewish Art and Society in Late Antiquity* (JRA Supplement Series 40), 195–214. Edited by L. Levine and Z. Weiss. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- . 1999. “Baptistries.” In *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, 332–34. Edited by G. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.
- . 1995. *Refiguring the Post-Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- White, L. M. 2011. “Capitalizing on the Imperial Cult: Some Jewish Perspectives.” In *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult*, 173–214. Edited by J. Brodd and J. Reed. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- . 2004. *From Jesus to Christianity*. San Francisco: HarperCollins.
- . 1997a. *The Social Origins of Christian Architecture*. Two volumes. Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International.
- . 1997b. “Synagogue and Society in Imperial Ostia: Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence.” *HTR* 90: 23–58.
- White, L. M., S. Gelb, and D. Boin. 2012. “Sinagoga: Scheda di Scavo 2009.” *Fasti Online*. <http://www.fastionline.org>. May 31, 2012.
- White, L. M., S. Gelb, D. Boin, and B. Nongbri. 2011a. “Sinagoga: Scheda di Scavo 2004.” *Fasti Online*. <http://www.fastionline.org>. January 31, 2011.
- . 2011b. “Sinagoga: Scheda di Scavo 2005.” *Fasti Online*. <http://www.fastionline.org>. January 31, 2011.
- . 2011c. “Sinagoga: Scheda di Scavo 2008.” *Fasti Online*. <http://www.fastionline.org>. January 31, 2011.
- Wickham, C. 2005. *Framing the Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wilson Jones, M. 2000. “Genesis and Mimesis: The Design of the Arch of Constantine in Rome.” *JSAH* 59: 50–77.
- . 1989. “Principles of Design in Roman Architecture: The Setting Out of Centralised Buildings.” *PBSR* 37: 106–51.
- Wismeyer, W. 1975. “Zum Epitaph der Monica.” *RömQschr* 70: 32–41.
- Wissowa, G. 1912. *Religion und Kultus der Römer*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

- Witschel, C. 2006. "Zur Situation im römischen Africa während des 3. Jahrhunderts." In *Deleto paene imperio Romano: Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit*, 145–221. Edited by K.-P. John, T. Gerhardt, and U. Hartmann. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- . 2004. "Re-Evaluating the Roman West in the 3rd c. A.D." *JRA* 17: 251–81.
- . 1999. *Krise-Rezession-Stagnation Der Westen des römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Frankfurt am Main: Marthe Clauss.
- Woolf, G. 2005. "Provincial Perspectives." In *Age of Augustus*, 106–129. Edited by K. Galinsky. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, D. 1993. *The Vatican Vergil: A Masterpiece of Late Antique Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Xypnetos, N. F. 1982–1983. "The Dioscuri as Protectors of the Navy." *Platon* 34–35: 23–48.
- Yalom, M. 2004. *Birth of the Chess Queen: A History*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Yarbrough, A. 1976. "Christianization in the Fourth Century: The Example of Roman Women." *Church History* 45: 149–65.
- Yasin, A. M. 2009. *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult, and Community*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2005. "Funerary Monuments and Collective Identity: From Roman Family to Christian Community." *Art Bulletin* 87: 433–47.
- Yates, F. 1966. *The Art of Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Yegül, F. 1992. *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Yoshino, K. 2006. *Covering: The Hidden Assault on Our Civil Rights*. New York: Random House.
- Zanini, E. 1998. *Le Italie bizantine: Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia, VI–VIII secolo*. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Zanker, P. 1995. *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity*. Translated by A. Shapiro. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1990. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Translated by A. Shapiro. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Zevi, A. G., and J. Humphrey (eds.). 2004. *Cicero, Gamala, Feasts and the Economy: Papers in Memory of John H. D'Arms* (JRA Supplement 57). Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Zevi, F., and P. Pensabene. 1971. "Un arco in onore di Caracalla ad Ostia." *RendLinc* 26: 481–525.
- Zevi, F. 2003. "P. Lucilio Gamala senior: un riepilogo trent'anni dopo." *Ostia, Cicero, Gamala, Feasts, and the Economy* (JRA Supplement 57), 47–68. Edited

- by A. Gallina Zevi and J. Humphrey. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- . 2002a. “Origini di Ostia.” *ActaInstRomFin* 27: 11–32.
- . 2002b. “Appunti per una storia di Ostia repubblicana.” *MÉFRA* 114: 13–58.
- . 2001a. “Ostie sous la République.” In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 10–19. Edited by Jean-Paul Descoeudres. Geneva: Musées d’art et d’histoire.
- . 2001b. “Les débuts d’Ostie.” In *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome antique*, 3–9. Edited by Jean-Paul Descoeudres. Geneva: Musées d’art et d’histoire.
- . 2000. “Roma arcaica e Ostia. Una riconsiderazione del problema.” In *Damarato: Studi di antichità classica offerti a P. Pelagatti*, 233–43. Edited by I. Berlingo. Milan: Electa.
- . 1997. “Costruttori eccellenti per le mura di Ostia: Cicerone, Clodio e l’iscrizione della Porta Romana.” *RivIstArch* 19–20: 61–112.
- . 1971. “Miscellanea ostiense: I. La carriera di Gavio Massimo e i restauri tardi alle terme del foro.” *RendLinc* 26: 449–67.

Index

- Acilia, 50
Acta Sanctorum, 177, 228
 “Acts of Gallicanus,” 177–80
 “Life of Aurea,” 219, 222–26, 231
 Adelphius, Clodius Celsinus, 56–57
 Aeneas, 39, 55
 Aghlabids, 239
 Agrippinus, G. Fabius, 66–67
 Al Aqsa Mosque (Jerusalem), 237
 Alaric, 165
 Alboin, 233
 Alexandria, 118, 190
 Ambrose, 131, 154
 Ammianus Marcellinus, 77, 128–29, 206
 Ancus Marcius, 18–19
 anti-Judaism, 175–76
 apartments, 99
 domestic shrines, 99–101
 medianum apartment, 99
 Aphrodisias, 237
 aqueduct, 50
 Arch of Caracalla, 221, 231
 Area Sacra Republicana, 5–7
 Athens, 238
 Attis. *See also* temples and sanctuaries
 androgynous representation of, 197
 Augustine, 22, 25, 154, 161–62, 196, 228
 and Jews, 175
 Volusianus, letter to, 78
 Augustus, 152
 Aurea, 217–28, 240
 as “soldier of Christ,” 225–26
 Aurelian, 138
 bakeries, 72–73
 Bassus, Anicius Auchenius, 79–80
 with Tyrennia Honorata, 79–80
 baths, 12, 50, 54–57
 Byzantine baths, 57
 of Mithras, 76
 of Musiciolus, 57, 62
 Neptune, 57
 “Palazzo Imperiale” baths, 57
 Porta Marina Baths, 48–49
 Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher, 30
 Belisarius, 233
 bishops (Ostia). *See also* Cyriacus
 Bellator, 158
 lists of, 212, 240
 Maximus, 158, 219
 Petrus Damiani, 240–41
 Bloch, Herbert, 133–35

calcaria. *See* limekilns
 Calendar of Polemius Silvius, 20, 207–08
 Calza, Guido, 3, 5–6, 146, 234
 Calza-de Chirico, Raissa, 2–3
 Capitulum. *See* *fora* (Ostia)
Carmen contra paganos, 196
 Carroll, Lewis, 10–11
 Casseggiato dei Molini, 88, 102
 Cassiodorus, 47–48
 castrum, 17, 27, 29–30
 Celsus, Ragonius Vincentius, 148–49
 chess
 as metaphor for “pagans and Christians,” 11, 34
 as object of cultural exchange, 240–41
 “Christianization,” 11, 31–34
 “Christian triumph,” 124–36, 163, 222, 233

- church buildings (Ostia)
 attribution of intramural basilica, 160, 170, 177–90
 basilica at Pianabella, 168–69, 182, 202–03
 intramural basilica, 159–160, 182
 Sant’Aurea, 161–62, 223, 231
 Sant’Ercolano, 161, 163
- Cicero, 27
- circus (Ostia), 64–65n55
- city gates. *See individual gates* Porta Marina, Porta Laurentina, Porta Romana
- Claudius II, 115, 217, 218
- Clementinus, Publius Attius, 147–48, 152–53
- Clodius, 27
- Codex-Calendar of 354 CE, 194, 208, 211–12
- collegia*
 at the so-called Schola di Traiano, 66–68
 of the Dendrophoroi, 183, 188n63
Edificio con opus sectile, possible identification with, 58–61, 68
- Constantine, 96, 124–28, 190
 building program in Jerusalem, 237
 establishment of a mint at Arles, 139
 so-called Edict of Milan, 124, 126
- Constantinople, 73–74
 Lausus statuery collection, 190
- Constantius Chlorus, 140
- Constantius II, 148
- covering (strategy of identity management), 42–43
- cults. *See temples and sanctuaries*
- Cumont, Franz, 36
- Cyriacus, 219–22, 229, 231
- de Chirico, Giorgio, 2–3, 31
- Damasus, 176, 196
- Decius, 114–15
- “Decumanus basilica.” *See guesthouse on the Decumanus*
- Dionysius, 193–95
- Easter, 193
- economy, 71, 86–88
 amphora imports (Ostia), 71, 232
 currency debasement, 87
- Edessa, 189
- Edict on Maximum Prices, 86
- Edificio con opus sectile*. *See collegia*, possible identification with
- Eugenius, 134–35, 153
- Euplus, Gaius Cartilius, 187–94
- Eusebius, 125, 154
- “Fall of Rome,” 165
- Fallujah, Iraq, 85
- Faustus, Sempronius, 209–10
- Fea, Carlo, 24
- festivals. *See also temples and sanctuaries*
navigium Isidis, 208–09
Volcanalici (*Volcanalia*), 210–11, 221
- Fidenae, 17
- Finley, Moses, 21
- fora* (Ostia)
 of Aurelian, 139–40
 Capitolium, 140–44
 exedra on the Decumanus, 74–75
 Forum (town center), 145–54, 232
 so-called Late Antique Forum, 74–75
- Galli (priests), 194–95, 198
- Gallicanus, 177–79
- Gallienus, 137
- Gamala, Publius Lucilius, 53–55, 205
- Gedächtnisgeschichte*. *See memory studies*
- Geertz, Clifford, 44–46, 85
- Gibbon, Edward, 83
- Goffman, Erving, 42–43
- Gordian III, 84–85, 90–97, 153
- Goths, 232
- Gourevich, Raissa. *See Calza-de Chirico, Raissa*
- Gratian, 129–30, 209
- Gregoriopolis, 2, 222, 238
- Gregory I, 194, 230
- Gregory IV, 2, 222, 239
- guesthouse on the Decumanus, 76–78, 186
- Hercules, 133–39
- Hippolytus (of Ostia), 161n106, 223n94, 240
- Hippolytus (of Rome), 195
- Holl, Pietro, 142–43
- Horrea of Hortensius, 71–72, 102–03
- houses, 66–68
 Cupid and Psyche, 8–9, 181
 of Diana, 72

- Domus of the Bucrania, 66
Domus dei Dioscuri, 100
Domus del Protiro, 100
Domus Fulminata, 58
Fortuna Annonaria, 69–70, 100, 191, 232
Garden Houses, 70
households, 40–43
- identity management. *See* passing, covering
imperial cult, 89–97, 205–06
Isidore of Seville, 19, 201
Isola Sacra, 165–66, 209
Sant’Ippolito, 166
- Jews and Jewish community (Ostia), 4, 106, 118, 155–58
archisynagogus, 157
Jewish-Christian relations, 163–64, 167–68
menorah and meaning, 106, 157–58, 173
Mindius Faustus inscription, 120–22, 156, 167
monumental presence at Ostia, 119–22
ritual time, 156–58, 213, 217
synagogue, 49, 119–20, 146, 167–68
Torah shrine, 155–58
- Jews and Jewish community (Jerusalem), 156, 167, 237
- John Lydus, 201
- Julian, 128–29, 195
- landscape archaeology, 28–31
- Lawrence, St., 170–80, 181, 200, 212, 227
as a Levite priest, 176
as a new Moses, 174
Liber Pontificalis, 177–80, 227–28, 231
limekilns, 223
Lombards, 233
- Maccabean martyrs, 38, 213
macella, 74, 181, 234–35
magic, 103–08
Solomon, name of, 104
Maxentius, 139, 149–51
Meiggs, Russell, 10, 140–43
memory studies, 22–31, 55, 241
Minucius Felix, 116–119, 122, 135, 198
Mithras, 34–35, 108–14
brooch (Ashmolean Museum), 113
compared to Persian Mitra, 35
in Rome, 114
Mithraeum of Felicissimus (Ostia), 111
women initiates or followers of, 113
Monica, mother of Augustine, 161, 228–31
Mussolini, Benito, 5, 31–32
- Namatianus, Rutilius Claudius, 22–25, 52, 206
Naqsh-i Rostam, 84, 97
navalia, 53–55
navigium Isidis. *See* festivals
Neoplatonism, 195
Nicene Christianity, 124, 131, 179
Nora, Pierre, 55
- Origen, 197–98
- “paganism,” 37–39, 40
“pagan revival,” 133–35
“Palazzo Imperiale,” 56, 64n53, 205
Paschetto, Ludovico, 22–24
passing (strategy of identity management), 42
patronage, 45–46, 68, 79–80, 160, 179, 188, 227–28
- Paul
Hellenistic Jew, 207
Christian saint, 207–08
Pelagius II, 230
Petrini, Giuseppe, 6, 142
Peutinger Map (*Tabula Peutingeriana*), 22–25
Philae, Egypt, 202
Pius VII, 6, 142, 144
Pius IX, 6
plazas (*piazze*)
Bivio del Castro, 73, 234
della Vittoria, 73
Pompeii, 25
pontifex maximus, 130–31
Poplicola, C. Cartilius, 58
Porta Marina
baths, 48–49, 134–38
imperial villa outside gate, 62–65
Porta Laurentina, 170
Porta Romana, 50
Portus, 22–25, 52, 204
post-processualist archaeology, 20

- prefect of the grain (*praefectus annonae*),
 95, 133, 134n37, 147, 204, 288
 Proba, Faltonia Betitia, 56–57, 79–80
 Probus (emperor), 137
 Procopius, 52, 55
 Prudentius, 174, 176
 on Lawrence, 174, 176
 on Vulcan, 181

 Quintillian, 28

 Ravenna, 172–74
refrigerium, 203
 “religion,” 44–46, 153
 archaeology of, 212–13
 religio, 117–19, 125–26
 superstitio, 117–19, 129
 ritual time
 Christian, 216–19
 Jewish, 156–58
 traditional, 204–12
 roads (*via*, *viae*)
 dei Molini, 29
 Severiana, 61, 63n50
 urban and suburban networks, 166–68
 Rome, topography of
 Altar of Victory, 130
 Basilica Aemelia, 165
 catacombs on the via Dino Compagni,
 173
 Curia, 165
 Forum Romanum, 126–28
 Forum of Augustus, 238
 Forum of Trajan, 147
 Mithraea, 114
 Pons Gratianus (Pons Cestius),
 130–31
 Santa Maria Maggiore, 173
 Temple of Saturn, 131
 Temple of Mars Ultor, 238
 temples in the fourth century, 128
 Theater of Pompey, 176
 tituli (church buildings), 227
 Romulus and Remus, 139, 218
 Rusticianus, Manlius, 149–51

 sacrifice, 89, 95, 131–32
 decree of Decius, 114–15
 “ticking-clock approach” to religious
 demise, 45–46, 202
 sanctuaries (Ostia). *See* temples and
 sanctuaries

 sectarianism, Christian, 38, 178–80,
 228
 Severus, Claudius, 214–15
 shrines
 domestic and workplace, 198–203
 Sacello del Silvano, 205
 statuary
 at Sanctuary of Magna Mater, 183–88
 in Late Antique urban spaces, 188–91
 of Hercules (Ostia), 134–38
 sculptural workshops (Ostia), 140
stuppatores, 26
 Symmachus, Aurelius Anicius, 234
 Symmachus, Quintus Aurelius, 130–31
 synagogue. *See* Jews and Jewish
 community

 taurobolium, 184, 186
 so-called *fossa sanguinis*, 184
 temples and sanctuaries (Ostia), 135, 154,
 198–200. *See also* *fora* (Ostia,
 Capitolium) and Mithras
 Bona Dea, 58
 Castor and Pollux, 154, 204–08
 Isis, 154, 208–10
 Magna Mater (Cybele) and Attis, 180,
 183–200
 Maïoumas, 201
 Roma and Augustus, 90, 145–46, 149,
 153
 so-called Quattro Tempietti, 232
 so-called Round Temple, 90–97
 so-called Temple of Hercules (sanctuary
 at 1.15), 133
 Serapis, 90, 116–17
 Vulcan, 134, 169, 210–12
 Tertullian, 118n121
 Theoderic, 48–49
 Theodosius I, 124, 131, 133, 190
 Theodosius II, 153
Theodosian Code, 72, 129, 132–33, 188
Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle, 85
 tolerance, religious, 79
 topography, Ostia. *See* apartments, baths,
 collegia, houses, roads, temples and
 sanctuaries
 Tor Boacciana, 52
 Trajan, 52–55
 Trebonius Gallus, 218

 Umayyads, 237
 urban palimpsests, 28, 51

- Valens, 209
- Valentinian II, 209
- Vaglieri, Dante, 6, 213
- Vandals, 165–66
- Vergil, 56
- vestal virgins, 129, 130n15, 182, 186
- Claudia Quinta in Herodian, 182, 186
- via, viae*. *See* roads
- Visconti, E. Q., 149
- Volusianus, Ceionius Rufius (*PLRE* 1, “Volusianus *signo* Lampadius 5”), 77, 186–87
- Volusianus, Ceionius Rufius (*PLRE* 1, “Volusianus 3”), 78
- xenodochium*. *See* guesthouse on the Decumanus
- Zenobia, 84

